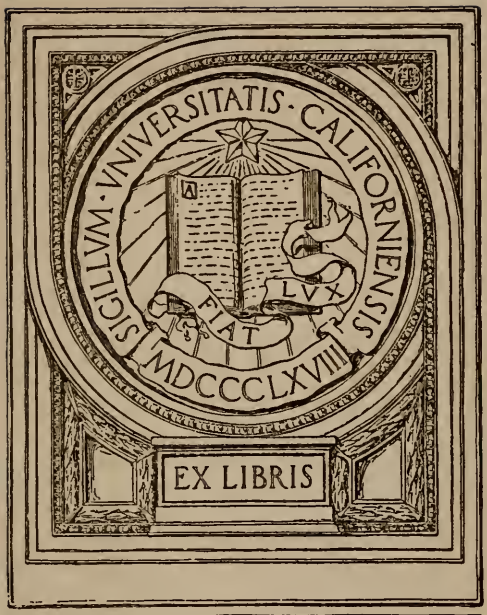
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CALVINISM AND ARMINIANISM

COMPARED IN

THEIR PRINCIPLES AND TENDENCY,

&c.

Part the First.

It has been ingenuously confessed, not only by all the Ancients, but likewise by Modern Divines, (among whom let it suffice to have praised THOMAS as one witness,) that the Free Will of man is incompetent to the performance of any good thing, except so far as it is moved and aided by God. Nor is there so much impiety as certain persons think in those assertions about Free Will which some of the Fathers and of the Moderns have made,—provided their expressions be received in a right manner, and in such a sense as it was the wish of the writers themselves that they should be received. BUCER.

In his lapsed and sinful state, man is not capable, of and by himself, either to think, to will, or to do that which is really good; but it is necessary for him to be regenerated and renewed in his intellect, affections or will, and in all his powers, by God in Christ through the Holy Spirit, that he may be qualified rightly to understand, esteem, consider, will, and perform, whatever is truly good.—I ascribe to Divine Grace THE COMMENCEMENT, THE CONTINUANCE, AND THE CONSUMMATION OF ALL GOOD; and to such an extent do I carry its influence, that a man, though already regenerate, can neither conceive, will, nor do any good at all, nor resist any evil temptation, *without this preventing and exciting, this following and co-operating Grace.*

ARMINIUS.

The Bishops of Ely and Lichfield, [Andrews and Overal,] were always accustomed to say, "that, as long as men maintained the true doctrine of *the Antecedent Will* [of God] or of *Conditional Decrees*, there could not be much danger "in disputing about Predestination and Free Will." The correctness of this sentiment appears to me more and more evident. GROTIUS.

The sum of that which I contend for is briefly this: That the God of Heaven hath not APPOINTED any creature to do wickedly, but hateth sin with an unfeigned and perfect hatred, and doth not give a necessity to all events, but to those alone which are agreeable to his holiness and are the objects of his absolute unconditional decrees: That God's DECREE OF REPROBATION was eternally respective, and respective of sins as well actual as original: That God's DECREE OF ELECTION was eternally respective of our being in Christ, and of our abiding in Him unto the end: That God's execution of his Decrees are in a just conformity to his Decrees: That Jesus Christ is a GENERAL but a CONDITIONAL SAVIOUR,—a Saviour to all who do the duties by him required, to none without it: That they who stand may fall for ever, and must therefore very watchfully take heed lest they fall, ever "giving all diligence to make their calling and election sure." DR. THOMAS PIERCE.

CALVINISM AND ARMINIANISM

COMPARED IN

THEIR PRINCIPLES AND TENDENCY:

OR

THE DOCTRINES

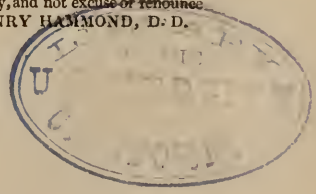
OF GENERAL REDEMPTION,

AS HELD BY THE MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,
AND BY THE EARLY DUTCH ARMINIANS,
EXHIBITED IN THEIR SCRIPTURAL EVIDENCE,
AND IN THEIR CONNECTION WITH THE CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS
LIBERTIES OF MANKIND.

BY JAMES NICHOLS.

Melanchthonis ac Johannis *Arndi* discipulos ferme videas bonos ac lenes: Contra, *Calvini* asperos, et tales qualem in maximam partem humani generis Deum esse sibi imaginantur. Tantum refert quo utaris Doctore! GROTIUS.

If it must be *Arminianism* to teach, that "the Ecclesiastical Power is subjected to the Civil Magistrate, who, in all causes over all persons, is acknowledged by us supreme under Christ," we must be content to lie down under that envy, and not excuse or renounce that piece of *loyal Arminianism*. HENRY HAMMOND, D. D.



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INTRODUCTION.

I. BRIEF VIEW OF ARMINIANISM.

"DO THE ELECT *believe?*" Or, "*Are* BELIEVERS *the true Elect?*" These are the two questions, which, long before Arminius was known, were proposed to all Predestinarian adversaries, by the learned and amiable Lutheran Professor HEMMINGIUS, who justly asserts, that in the manner in which these simple but opposing Queries are solved, consists *the real difference between the favourers of* PARTICULAR *and* GENERAL *Redemption.* He says, "those persons who maintain the former position, hold sentiments agreeable to the doctrine of the Manichees and Stoics; and those who maintain the latter point, are in obvious agreement with Moses and the Prophets, with Christ and his Apostles."

If, according to the spirit of the First Question, men regard themselves as BELIEVERS *because they have been elected,* the consequences which they deduce from such a fatal doctrine are very obvious: Not only is their eternal felicity thus inevitably secured, without any personal exertion on their part, but the means of this spiritual security are also permanently fixed; and "the righteousness divine" with which a renewed man becomes invested, is, through an abuse of the doctrine of IMPUTATION, rendered inefficacious by being viewed as a *relative* and not a *real* qualification. In this manner the whole of the Five Points and their concomitants are represented *absolutely* and *unconditionally;* and being thus independent of all personal considerations, they produce none of that salutary influence upon the conduct of individuals which the various scriptural promises and threatenings are intended to inculcate.

On the contrary, when, in the spirit of the Second Question, men regard themselves as THE ELECT OF GOD, *because they believe and obey his commandments,* the consequences which they deduce from such a doctrine are equally apparent: Not only are their present religious enjoyments and their eternal felicity thus rendered certain, and yet contingent upon the continued exercise of their faith, and upon their acts of evangelical obedience,—but "the righteousness divine," with which, as renewed persons, they are endowed, is viewed as a real qualification, a fructifying principle; and "the Grace of God" which they receive, is one of those "talents" concerning which their Blessed Lord commands, "Occupy (or *trade*) till I come." In this manner, all the Five Points and their appurtenances are exhibited *conditionally;* and, being made to

depend upon the proper and diligent use of the "gracious gifts bestowed," they produce a most salutary influence upon the conduct of individuals, and give practical effect to the exhortations, promises, and threatenings, which the Holy Scriptures contain.

The First of these opinions therefore ascribes the appointment of man's eternal destiny to the mere arbitrary pleasure and to the absolute and unalterable decree of the Almighty: while the Second attributes it, quite as strongly, to the Divine pleasure in the first instance; but it is to that WILL SUPREME, as expressed in God's word, which gives countenance to no other *election* than that of *faith and perseverance foreseen.*

Those benevolent men who plead for the perfectly *innocuous nature of mental error,* would acknowledge the erroneousness of this principle, were they to peruse the strange and unscriptural assertions made by many of the early Calvinists, who were the cotemporaries of Arminius. The bare repetition of them has a desecrating effect; and I consequently abstain from producing any examples of them, since the reader will find a few, in the succeeding pages, and in Bishop WOMACK's *Calvinists' Cabinet Unlocked.* From the year in which Calvin first published his refinements on St. Augustine's doctrine of *grace,* and sophistically changed some of the plain doctrines of the Gospel into the fate of Heathenism, the evil of this substitution gradually increased; and some of the finest metaphysical wits that the world ever saw, had still further refined upon Calvin's scheme, till the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as expounded by them, exhibited a tissue of such monstrous and absurd propositions as were never devised by any christian divines, or published to the world even by any philosophers,*—with the exception, perhaps, of the Mahommedan commen-

* Certain of the greatest among the Heathen Philosophers tried to vindicate the character of their Supreme Deity, from the charge of impelling men to sin, and afterwards punishing them for their offences. The following account of some of their attempts is exceedingly instructive, and shews, contrary to certain modern assertions, that the Fatalism of the Heathens and that of the Calvinists are more nearly allied, and defended by arguments which bear a greater resemblance to each other, than many persons not extensively versed in their writings have supposed:

"The complaint of the Gods in Homer (Odyss. *a*,) will best shut up this: 'O 'how unjustly mortal men accuse and charge the Gods, saying, that their evils 'are from them, when the truth is, that they by their own wretchless [reckless] 'courses bring mischiefs upon themselves, above what their fate or decree of the 'Gods can be deemed to have brought upon them.' And accordingly it is one of the excellent lessons of the Pythagoreans, in their *Golden Verses,* 'This thou 'must know, the evils that men fall under, are brought upon them by their own 'choices.'—On which even Chrysippus, the Stoic and great assertor of Fate, hath thus commented: 'Evils or mischiefs come to every man from himself; it 'being certain, that by their own incitation they both sin and suffer, and that 'according to their own mind and purpose.' This being so far distant from the doctrine of Fatality, it may well be wondered how Chrysippus, (who asserted THAT under the name of *the chain* and *the decree,*) could believe himself, or reconcile this comment and that verse with his great principles. And indeed Cicero

tators on the Koran. Yet a doctrine of Election, contrary to that of Calvin, and consonant to the scriptures of truth, was maintained nearly from the commencement of the Reformation, by the immense body of the Lutheran Church, and by the Church of England. The resistance which several of the Protestant Martyrs in Queen Mary's days, Professor Baro, the judicious Hooker, and others of our

hath passed a right sentence of it, 'Chrysippus contending and labouring how to 'reconcile these two propositions, *that all things are done by Fate*, and yet *that 'something is in our own power*, is entangled, and cannot extricate himself.'— 'This master of the Stoics was pressed,' saith Gellius. 'with these inconvenient con- 'sequences of his doctrine of Decrees, that then the sins of men were not to be 'charged on their wills, but to be imputed to a necessity and pressing which 'arose from Fate, and that it must be unjust to make laws for the punishing of 'offenders:' To which he had nothing to say but this, 'that though, if you 'look upon the First Cause, all is thus fatally decreed and chained, yet the dispo- 'sitions of each man's mind are only so far subject to Fate, as is agreeable to 'their own properties and qualities: As,' saith he, 'when a man tumbles a 'cylinder or roller down a hill, it is certain that the man is the violent enforcer 'of the first motion of it; but when it is once a tumbling, the quality and pro- 'priety of the thing itself continues and consummates it.' "—HAMMOND *on Fundamentals.*

This is exactly the shallow reasoning of Zanchius, and others of the early defenders of Calvin's system. See a note in page 18. The learned and amiable Doctor then makes several remarks on *the cylinder* of Chrysippus, and concludes them thus:

"Neither is the cylinder charged with sin, whether by God or men; nor any punitive law enacted, by either, against its rolling down the hill; nor, indeed, are such charges, or such laws, ever brought in or enacted against any actions of any other creature, plant, or beast, till you ascend to man, who is supposed to have a will, and not to be under such inevitable fatal laws, but to be, as that excellent man Pomponius Atticus was wont to say, 'the forger of his own fate, the framer of his own fortune;' which yet should be as improper to be applied to or affirmed of a man, as of any other creature, if all his actions were as irreversibly predetermined as the descent of *heavy* bodies, or the ascending of *light*, that is, if Chrysippus' cylinder and the motion thereof were a commodious instance or resemblance of this matter. But the truth is, the man was acute and dextrous, and could say as much for the reconciling of contradictions as another.

"Though this last age hath considered the question very diligently, and had the advantages of the writings of the former ages to assist them, yet he that shall impartially make the comparison will find, that the ancient philosophers have written more subtilely in this matter, and are more worth our reading, than any of our modern schools: And when the master of them, Chrysippus, was so unable to speak intelligible sense, or extricate himself in this business, it will be less matter of wonder to us, that they who have espoused this prolepsis should endeavour, as unprosperously as Chrysippus is judged by Cicero to have done, to extricate themselves out of a labyrinth not of *fewer* but of *more* difficulties; God having most clearly revealed to Christians, that as He *rewardeth every man according to his works*, so He *requireth of him according to what he hath* in his power to do, and *not according to what he hath not.* He that shall survey HIEROCLES on the Golden Verses of Pythagoras, AMMONIUS on Aristotle's Περι Ερμηνειας in shewing the nature of *contingent* and *necessary* propositions, the Christian Philosopher BOETIUS (lib. 2) *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*, and APHRODISÆUS concerning *the Chain and Decree*, where he confutes, as absurd, this comparison of the Cylinder, will, I believe, be convinced of the truth of what I say."

English Worthies, offered to the progress of Calvin's doctrines and platform prior to the appearance of Arminius, is matter of history.

It must ever be regretted as an unfortunate circumstance, that there was not then another great denomination of Protestants on the Continent beside that of Calvin, with which those persons might coalesce who could not digest the Lutheran doctrine of the *Real Presence*, and other niceties in the Augsburgh Confession. The doctrines connected with GENERAL REDEMPTION suffered greatly, from being recommended solely by this respectable body of christians, some of whose tenets were exceedingly obnoxious to such moderate men as wished to be at the greatest possible distance from Popery. This fact, if examined in its different bearings, will account satisfactorily for the rapid spread of Calvin's doctrines and the Presbyterian discipline, in various countries of Europe, between the years 1540 and 1600.

Happily, however, for the honour of Protestantism, God Almighty raised up for the defence of the Truth among the Dutch Presbyterians, a man of consummate talents, deep piety, and eminent modesty. On beholding the devastations committed on the purity of the Gospel by the Supralapsarians, whose opinions at that period were exceedingly prevalent in Holland, in christian meekness he enquired of the leaders of Calvinism, with whom he had been a mighty favourite: "Since you perceive the pernicious purposes to which your high Predestinarian opinions are applied, and the baneful effects which they produce on the practice of professing christians, why do you not adopt that hallowing view of Predestination which has the Christian Fathers of the three First Centuries for its patrons, and which is still professed by nearly three-fourths of the Protestants in Europe? If you will make such a mystery as PREDESTINATION the chief part of your discourses, why do you not imitate the Ancients,* and the majority of the Moderns, in deriving it from the DIVINE FORESIGHT *of Faith and Perseverance?* The Gospel says, *God so loved the world, that He gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should have everlasting life:* But your novel doctrine declares, 'God so loved those whom He had absolutely elected to eternal

* This is acknowledged by SCULTETUS in his *Marrow of the Fathers*, by VOSSIUS in his *History of Pelagianism*, and in particular by PETER DU MOULIN in his *Novelty of the Papacy*, which he wrote against Cardinal Perron, and in which he says: "All the Fathers before St. Augustine, and Augustine himself at first, believed, *that God predestinated men to salvation according to his own Prescience, that this and that person would perform good works and exercise faith.*" "And," say the Remonstrant Synod of Utrecht, "though St. Augustine, and certain others after him somewhat changed their sentiments in the matter of Predestination, yet they always acknowledged, *that Christ died for all men, that the free-will of man [was concerned] in his conversion, and that it was possible for men to decline from the faith.*"—But this higher kind of Predestination, the last which St. Augustine espoused, was not sufficiently high for Calvin and other modern Fatalists.—On this topic, see two subsequent notes, pp. viii, and 428.

life, as to give his Son to them alone, and by an irresistible force to produce within them faith on him,'" &c.

Though this was no more than what had been frequently said by others who maintained General Redemption, yet no one can imagine the uproar and confusion that the repetition of it excited amongst the querulous race of high Predestinarians in Holland and in the different states and kingdoms in which Calvinism flourished, as soon as it was delivered by an eminent man of their own profession. The calmness and moderation of Arminius communicated an importance to all the arguments which he produced; and the fine character of him which Bishop Womack has drawn in a succeeding page (91), will be acknowledged by all competent judges to be exceedingly appropriate. When the more prudent and judicious in the enemy's camp saw their idol, *Unconditional Predestination*, fall down before the ark of God's truth, they severally gathered a few of the scattered fragments together, and with them each attempted to form another less objectionable image according to his own fancy. Before that event the Calvinists were divided only into two great parties, SUPRA and SUB-LAPSARIANS, who were very loving and agreeable towards each other. But as soon as their favourite system was overturned, scarcely one Predestinarian divine of eminence could be found throughout Europe who adhered strictly to the old doctrines; each of them attempted to amend that which he deemed the most reprehensible, and to communicate, to its "more uncomely parts," a plausible if not a consistent appearance. Thus, among these great enemies to the diffusive Benevolence of Heaven, a discord arose, which has not subsided to this day, and which has been the means of bringing many of them within the hallowing precincts of scriptural Arminianism, before they were aware of being near its abhorred approaches.

Those who are acquainted with the secret history of the Synod of Dort, know, that palpable and obvious as were the political designs of the Princes and Potentates who appeared by their proxies on that occasion, there were certain purposes which had long been in the contemplation of the chief divines of Calvin's party, and which they hoped to effect in that convention. While many of the hot and short-sighted members of the Assembly indulged in the charming idea, that the condemnation and banishment of the Arminians would be the best method of restoring peace to the great body of Calvinists, the aim of their chiefs, whose views, if not more liberal, were undoubtedly more extensive, was, the devising of a grand formulary of Calvinism, so comprehensive in its nature as to compose within itself their various differences. But in the latter intention they completely failed. Certain Canons or Articles were indeed signed by all the members of the Synod; but their signatures to that document could be obtained, only on the condition, *that to those Canons*

should be appended the large exposition of the sense in which they severally subscribed those Formularies of Calvinistic concord. Thus "the Acts of the Synod" contain the widely different meanings given to those Articles by the foreign Divines of Great Britain, the Palatinate, Hesse, Switzerland, Wedderau, Geneva, Bremen, and Embden,*—and by the Dutch Divines from the Provinces and

* From this exact enumeration of the several petty principalities and small towns, that deputed Calvinistic representatives to the Dutch Synod, the reader will perceive the narrow constitution of that notorious Assembly. The only Protestant *kingdom* in Europe that sent deputies to it, was Great Britain: The rest of the members of the Synod, with the exception of the Dutch Divines and those from Geneva and Switzerland, were the delegates of a few inconsiderable States in Germany; in which extensive empire, the Lutherans constituted above three-fourths of the Protestant population, but deputed no Divines to Dort. It was therefore a good specimen of the bold and towering spirit of Calvinistic self-election, when this small number of Divines issued their Canons, which they hoped to employ as fetters for binding the opinions of all the Reformed in Europe, and which some of their admirers tell us, have never been equalled since the days of the Apostles,—"except," say the English Calvinists, "by the decisions of the Westminster *Assembly of Divines!*"

The same vain-glorious practices, which are, indeed, natural results of those Predestinarian principles that foster human pride, were displayed in England at the commencement of our Civil Wars, in 1640, when the "Solemn League and Covenant" was invented, by which all men were required to swear that they would "endeavour a reformation of religion, in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, according to the word of God, and the examples of *the best Reformed Churches.*" Dr. Hooper has given us a just description of what the Calvinists meant by this phrase:

"Good men, who know the grounds and reasons of our reformation, were at a loss, what the late design might mean of '*bringing our Church nearer to the* PROTESTANTS ABROAD,' to *those of our brethren of Calvin's way*, we suppose, they intended. We hope the intention was not to insinuate an unjust reproach, as if we had not the amity or affection for them which we ought, did not rejoice in their edification, or compassionate their affliction; but only this, to alter our constitution into a nearer resemblance with theirs. But if any of ours desired this for amendment, as a farther reformation and greater perfection, it was because they were not pleased to consider their own frame well: Nor could any honest man of our Church, and who understood her right, have ever consented. And if the design was only political, (though the policy appears not,) yet why might it not be as fit for those Protestants to come nearer to us? But, not to stand on such terms, how could we have gone nigher to the Calvinists, without departing from the Lutheran? Our Church is already in the middle, and reaching out her hands on either side; settled there long ago, by weighty reason, and upon mature deliberation: For, although the word PROTESTANT has been here at home appropriated to a party, and the REFORMED CHURCH abroad has been still understood only for those of one way [the Calvinists]; yet every one knows, that the Lutheran is the first Reformed, and that the term PROTESTANT is only proper to them, and particularly to those only of the German nation. This then is the first fallacy endeavoured to be put upon the people,—'that those to whom some of our Dissenters pretend a nearer approach, are *the 'only Reformed and Protestants in the world:*' As if the Lutheran were not to be understood by his own name. The other is this, 'that the Calvinist is so 'great, that the other deserves not to be mentioned:' Whereas the other [the Lutherans] have still been the far greater number, and the much more considerable. Our trade, indeed, makes us look into Holland, (where, though, the

Dependencies of Guelderland and Zutphen, South Holland, North Holland, Zeland, Utrecht, Friezland, Overyssel, Groningen, the Ommelands, and Drent, and by the Walloon Churches. The explanatory and often opposite significations, given by *each of these parties*, occupy a far larger space in the Acts than the Canons themselves, and contain curious apologies for every contradictory grade of Calvinism.* The failure of their grand scheme of Pre-

true Calvinist makes not above a third of the people !,) and our fashions, into France, (and would to God, their numbers increased there !,) we speak much of Switzerland and the Lower Palatinate: But we forget to take notice of the large countries that are entirely of the other profession; as Denmark, Sweden, the dominions of the Elector of Saxony and Brandenburgh, of the great House of Lunenburg, and the many Imperial Cities. So, that the design, mentioned before, 'of coming nearer to the Reformation abroad,' was nothing else but this;—to persuade us to go farther from the universal church primitive, from the major part of the moderns Reformed, from our innocent agreement with general Christianity, and from those of ourselves who are much edified by our present constitution; to come nearer to those abroad, who, to speak in the fairest language, are not better constituted than ourselves; and to comply with those at home who are, certainly, neither the greater nor the best part of us; to give way to the falsest and most destructive prejudice, opposite to all catholic agreement; and to countenance and encourage a most causeless and seditious separation."

* I have briefly described "the discord which arose among these great enemies to the diffusive benevolence of Heaven;" and the following quotation, from the able reply which Grotius made to RIVET's *Apology*, will further illustrate this Calvinistic disagreement, and the spirit which animated the Dutch members of the Synod of Dort and their immediate successors. At the commencement he alludes to the collection of blasphemous and indiscreet expressions which the Remonstrants produced from the writings of some of the most eminent Calvinists, both Dutchmen and foreigners.

"Those noxious dogmas," says Grotius, "which the Remonstrants objected against the men who called themselves THE REFORMED, these nominal Reformed have not yet been able to remove from themselves, and never will be able. For they were not mere *inferences*, but the very expressions, not only of one or two individuals, but of many persons of great eminence,—who pointed out to the [members of the] Synod of Dort the way into which they entered,—who constituted no inconsiderable portion of that Synod,—and who gave such interpretations of [the decisions of] that Synod as accorded exactly with the meaning of Bogerman's spirit. I will not use the authority of the men [the Remonstrants] who made those collections [of injudicious expressions]: For they are poor, destitute, and were, not long ago, driven into banishment by these very Synodists. Let the passages which they quoted be inspected, and it will appear that they are exact—nothing is added, nothing subtracted. But Richelieu has adduced a smaller number of passages [from the writings of the Calvinists] of the same import: When he first wrote them, he was only a Bishop; when he caused them to be republished, he had been invested with a Cardinal's purple, and was at the helm of the government. The well-known prudence of the Cardinal does not allow us to suppose, that he would utter any thing without consideration; and the great benefits, which he has bestowed on the pastors of Charenton and their associates, will not permit us to view him as under the influence of hatred.

"But these are not the only persons who urge such objections against Rivet and his colleagues: The same objections are made by the greater portion of the Roman Catholics, the Greek Church, and of the Protestants,—not only by those of the latter denomination who adhere to the Augsburgh Confession in Sweden, Denmark, and the largest regions of Germany, but by those likewise who occupy

destinarian concord was rendered still more apparent, after the termination of the Synod, when hot disputes arose among the Calvinists in several countries about *the kind of Predestination* sanctioned by the Synod,—some of them asserting it to have been SUPRA and others SUB-LAPSARIANISM.

By the perusal of the following extract, relative only to a single subject of their disagreement, the reader will form some tolerable judgment concerning the dreadful schism which Arminius made in the Calvinistic phalanx:

"That the decrees of Election and Reprobation levied by our brethren, are shadows of *mountains* not *men*, human and not divine conceptions, those endless digladiations and irreconcilable divisions amongst themselves, about *assigning or stating the object of these decrees*, are an abundant confirmation unto us.—Some of them hold, 'that men, simply and indefinitely considered, are the 'object of these decrees.'—Others contend, 'that men, considered 'as yet to be created or made, are this object.'—A third sort

the chief stations in the Church of England, or who, I ought rather to say, *have occupied* those stations.—But the men, who, by such a general concurrence of Christians, are accused of these great evils, act a most iniquitous part: For they neither condemn those sentiments which are produced from the writings of the chief men of their party, through a fear of deserting their leaders; nor do they venture to defend those sentiments, lest their ulcers should become apparent to all persons. They wish to have no perception of their diseases, and yet they do not try to lay aside the use of those soothing medicines which physicians call ANODYNES.

"Does any one wish to know, to which of the parties in this controversy the charge of NOVELTY attaches? Let him set aside St. Augustine, and the few writers who imitate his sayings; let him separate them on this account—because their words admit of an ambiguous interpretation. Let him consult Augustine's Christian predecessors in Asia, Africa, Greece, and throughout the whole of Western Christendom,—writers, who have been most conspicuous for exemplary living and sound judgment, who have perused and examined the Holy Scriptures with diligence, have expressed the doctrines in their manners, and some of whom have sealed their testimony with their blood. What peril is there in [the Arminians] following such numerous and great guides as these? It is the belief of those who co-incide in opinion with Rivet, and this belief they constantly inculcate, *that every believer ought to be assured of his final salvation or of his present predestination.* This doctrine is their principal consolation, both in life and in death; it is likewise the foundation of the whole of their instruction. These are not crude declarations of ours, but they are crude articles of their belief. 'Predestination,' in the sense in which St. Augustine understood it, 'remains a 'secret in the bosom of the Almighty: There are no certain marks of it in this 'world, unless God be pleased to reveal it to some person,—which He is not accus-'tomed to do.' Those indications of it which have been fabricated, are the dreams of those who wish to have it so. The Spirit of adoption is a seal only to *present experience*, and not necessarily [as the Calvinists maintain,] of that which is *future*: For it is possible to quench the Spirit. 'But,' says Rivet, 'we do 'not assert that sins are forgiven before they are committed.' What then does he assert? Does he not say, 'that the pardon of sins was absolutely and from all 'eternity decreed by God?' And what real difference is there between these two assertions, especially when it is the wish of the Calvinists to inculcate, on all those who have believed in Christ, *the necessity of being personally assured of this decree!*"—Then follows the paragraph about Moses Amyraut, which I have quoted in a subsequent page, 750.

stands up against both the former with this notion, 'that men, 'considered as already created and made, are this object.'—A fourth disparageth the conjectures of the three former, with this conceit, 'that men, considered as fallen, are the said object.'—Another findeth a defect in the singleness or simplicity of all the former opinions, and compoundeth this in opposition to them, 'that men, considered both as to be created and as being created, 'and as fallen, together, are the proper object of those trouble-'some decrees.'—A sixth sort formeth us yet another object, and this is, 'men considered as salvable, or capable of being saved.'—A seventh, not liking the faint complexions of all the former opinions, delivereth us this, as strong and healthful; *viz*, 'that men, 'considered as damnable or capable of damnation, are this object.'—Others yet again, super-fancying all the former, conceit 'men, 'considered as creable, or possible to be created, to be the object 'so highly contested about.'—A ninth party gives the pre-eminence to *their* sense, *who* disciple the world with this doctrine, 'that men considered as *labiles*, or capable of falling, are the ob-'ject of those men-confounding and God-abasing decrees.'—A tenth squadron, coming up in the rear of all the former, supposeth that they all left the Truth behind them, and that themselves have gathered it up, in this notion, *viz*. 'that men, considered as 'repairable or capable of restauration, are the object of that Pre-'destination which men have laboured to build up, and yet could 'never agree about the materials.'—And whether all the scattered and conflicting opinions about *the object of our Brethren's decrees of Election and Reprobation*, be bound up in this bundle, or no, we cannot say; we are rather negatively inclined. However, by those uncouth distractions and interferings in opinion amongst them, *where, or how, to bottom their said pretended decrees*, we are jealous with a very great jealousy, that neither they, nor any others, are able to find so much as an inch of *firm ground* whereon to build them."—Goodwin's *Agreement and Distance of Brethren.*

Such were the manifold disputes among the Calvinists, concerning one of the most simple matters in their heterogeneous scheme, and one about which they ought to have been at agreement before they attempted to raise upon it their *fatal* superstructure. The contrast, in this respect, between them and the Arminians, is very remarkable: For, how much soever the latter differ among themselves in the more or less gracious quality of the materials of which their Superstructure is formed, (and the difference is to this day great both among the Dutch and English Arminians,) all of them agree in laying the Foundation of the Divine Decrees, concerning man's salvation, in Faith and Perseverance foreseen. In reference to this topic, the celebrated Limborch observes, in his *Historical Relation of the Origin and Progress of the Controversies about Predestination in the United Provinces:* "But, that the Calvinists [after the Synod], might be

able to deck out in fair colours the charge of SOCINIANISM, and that they might defend their own schism and the persecution which they instituted against the Remonstrants, under the specious pretext of 'the latent Socinianism among them which would insensibly 'betray itself,' they contrived to frame a distinction between *the early Remonstrants* who dissented from them solely in the Five Points, and *the latter* whom they stigmatized as Socinians. Others of their writers, (Spanheim, &c.) not content with this two-fold distinction, have invented FOUR classes of Remonstrants, that merge at length into the two already described. But in vain do the Calvinists endeavour to find some refuge for themselves under this distinction: For it is a circumstance well known to every one, that the Remonstrants were condemned at the Synod of Dort *solely on account of the Five Articles about Predestination.* The Acts and Canons of that assembly proclaim the same fact. On account of *those Five Points alone,* the Remonstrant pastors were discharged from the ministry and banished, and their churches were harassed with a most grievous persecution of ten years' continuance. By the judgment of the Provincial Synods, fraternal communion was refused to those who professed that benevolent sentiment. If therefore the latter Remonstrants had adopted Socinianism, that can neither be an argument in excuse for the schism, which had some time previously been introduced *only through the dissension about Predestination,* nor of the atrocious persecution with which that schism was connected."

But though Arminius dissented from his Calvinistic brethren in the manner of stating the order and subject of God's decrees, he was too good a divine to reject the rest of the scriptural doctrines which they maintained. In all his labours his paramount desire was, according to his own words, "to perceive his countrymen employing a nicer accuracy of distinction." (P. 478.) He knew that, in a revelation from Heaven,—how great soever may be the condescension of the Deity in humbling Himself to creatures of the earth, and in accommodating his expressions to the finite capacities of mankind,—some matters must appear *mysterious: "Secret things belong unto the* LORD OUR GOD; *but those things which are revealed belong unto us and to our children,"* &c. Among those grand verities which have been REVEALED, these two hold a distinguished place: (1.) "It is GOD WHO WORKETH IN YOU both to *will* and to *do* of his good pleasure." (Philip. ii. 13.)—(2.) In the same passage, the believers at Philippi are thus exhorted, on the ground of their *constant obedience,* "Work OUT your own salvation with fear and trembling."* St. Peter also exhorts those who had

* "The concurrence of God and man," says Archbishop Bramhall, "in producing the act of our believing or conversion to God, is so evident in Holy Scripture, that it is vanity and lost labour to oppose it. If God did not concur, the Scripture would not say, '*It is God that worketh in us both the will and the deed.*' If man did not concur, the Scripture would not say, '*Work out your own*

obtained like precious faith with himself, through the righteousness of God and their Saviour Jesus Christ, " *Give diligence* to make your calling and election SURE: For, *if ye do these things*, ye shall never fall: For so an entrance shall be ministered unto you abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." Arminius has been accused, by those who knew little either about him or his doctrines, " of having arrogantly tried to reconcile these two apparently opposite propositions; and, when he was not able to effect a satisfactory reconciliation," it is said, " he then attempted to elevate the doctrine contained in the second proposition at the expence of the other." All this is pure fiction: For Arminius acknowledged both of them to be REVEALED scriptural truths; but THE MODE in which *the irresistible power of God* can exert itself in the work of human

salvation with fear and trembling.' If our repentance were God's work alone, God would not say to man, '*Turn ye unto me with all your heart*;' and if repentance were man's work alone, we had no need to pray, '*Turn us, O Lord, and we shall be turned.*' We are commanded to repent and to believe: In vain are commandments given to them who cannot at all concur to the acting of that which is commanded. Faith and repentance are proposed unto us, as conditions to obtain blessedness and avoid destruction. '*If thou shalt confess with thy mouth, and believe with thy heart, thou shalt be saved.*' And '*Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.*' To propose impossible conditions, which they, to whom they are proposed, have no power either to accept or refuse, is a mere mockery. Our unbelief and impenitence is imputed to us as our own fault, '*Because of unbelief thou wert broken off*;' and '*After thy hardness and impenitent heart, thou treasurest up unto thyself wrath.*' Their unbelief and impenitence were not their own faults, if they neither had power to concur with the grace of God to the production of faith and repentance; nor yet to refuse the grace of God. The Holy Scripture doth teach us, that God doth help us in doing works of piety: '*The Lord is my Helper*,' and '*The Spirit helpeth our infirmities.*' If we did not co-operate at all, God could not be said to help us. There is, therefore, there must be, co-operation. Neither doth this concurrence or co-operation of man, at all, entrench upon the power or honour of God, because this very liberty to co-operate is his gift, and this manner of acting his own institution."

This extract from the Irish Prelate is given by the Bishop of Winchester, in his Lordship's able "REFUTATION OF CALVINISM." In the late Rev. THOMAS SCOTT'S *Remarks*, it is said, " This quotation is not materially different from the sentiments of modern Calvinists. None of us [Calvinists] imagine, that 'our repentance is God's work alone,' and he admits, that if it 'were our 'work alone, we need not pray, *Turn thou us, O Lord, and we shall be turned.*' None of us suppose, that God has, 'proposed impossible conditions, which they, 'to whom they are proposed, have no power to accept or refuse.' We have, by nature, both power and inclination to refuse; and nothing is wanting but a willing mind, in order to accept of them: But Bishop Bramhall would admit, that whatever *power* we have, we have not that *willing mind*, except by the grace of God. 'The liberty to co-operate is His gift;' but the inclination to comply with his proposal, is His also. How far the word *co-operate* is proper, may be questioned: But, as the matter is here stated, I feel no great repugnancy to it; especially as explained in the concluding part of the quotation."

The man, who could make these large admissions in sincerity, must have been at that time an Arminian, how pertinaciously soever he might on other occasions contend for some of the peculiarities of Calvin's scheme, of which nevertheless he does not seem to have had a clear conception.

salvation, without destroying *the free agency of man,* he viewed as one of those SECRET THINGS which belong unto the Lord." The clumsy manner in which the Calvinists solve this difficulty, resembles the act of Alexander the Great when he cut the Gordian knot: They resolve all the deeds of moral agents into *the Absolute Will and Irresistible Power of God,* and by tearing away one of these relative propositions from its fellow, they make the first of them the foundation of their system, while the numerous exhortations, promises and threatenings of the scriptures become with them objects of inferior consideration. Arminius did not, in this, follow their example: In modestly advocating *the freedom of the will,* he spoke more cautiously about it than even Melancthon* had done, and always described it as utterly incompetent to effect any good unless when assisted by the *exciting, preceding,* and *accompanying* Grace of God. Though he could not perfectly reconcile the two propositions which are quoted at the commencement of this paragraph, yet he conceived them to be equally binding on the belief and practice of christians, and consequently subjects on which reason, enlightened by revelation and aided by the Spirit of God, might appropriately exercise itself. In the ample notes to the first volume of his WORKS, I have felt much pleasure in elucidating the moderation and sobriety which Arminius displayed in all his theological researches, of which the following extract, from a letter quoted in that volume, page 682, presents a good specimen: "In justification we are not taught *from whence faith arises.* Let it suffice, that it is there proved, *Believers,*

* In the sixteen particulars concerning Arminius, which Dr. Thomas PIERCE has given, in his *Divine Philanthropy Defended,* the following forms the twelfth:—

"For myself I do declare, that I was then in the opinions I now am in when I had not read one page of Arminius's works: Nor do I agree with him any farther, than he agrees with Scripture, Antiquity, the Church of England, and Melancthon after the time of his conversion from the errors of Luther, and Mr. Calvin. This Melanchthon at first had been as it were the scholar of Luther, and drew from him his first errors: But, being a pious, learned, and unpassionate man, (pursuing truth, not faction,) he saw his error, and forsook it, embracing those opinions concerning *the liberty of the will, the cause of sin, the universality of grace,* and *the respectiveness of God's decrees,* which I asserted in those notes against which Mr. B. now declaims. This Melanchthon was and is still the DARLING, (more than any one man) of *the Reformed part of the Christian world;* so much the rather, because besides his vast learning, unbiassed judgment, and transcendent piety, he was almost proverbial for MODERATION. For this was he chosen to write the Augustan Confession: For this he was much considered by them that composed our Book of Articles, and our other Book of Homilies which shews us what is the doctrine of *the true Church of England:* For this he was imitated and admired by the glorious martyrs of our religion in the days of Queen Mary: For this he was esteemed far above Mr. Calvin by Jacobus ARMINIUS, the famous Professor of Divinity in the University of Leyden, who, however a Presbyterian as to matter of discipline, did yet so very far excel the other divines of that sect, *in exactness of learning as well as life,* that we may say he became *Melanchthon's convert.*"

and they alone, are justified without the works of the law. I have endeavoured to distinguish, or rather to disjoin, this decree by which God resolves *to justify and adopt believers*, from that by which He determines *to bestow faith on these or those* [*particular individuals*]: This distinction I have attempted to make, from the nature and necessity of the things themselves; expressly with this design—that people may learn that our controversy does not relate to *every kind of Predestination*, but to that only which is included in the last-named decree.—A consideration of the only order which God has established, will require us to teach, *that God justifies none except those who believe*, though in that action He perform the condition required by himself, which condition could not have been performed except through that [irresistible] action. Add to this, that, beside his own omnipotent and internal action, God is both able and willing to employ the following argument: 'God justifies no persons except such as believe: Believe there-'fore, that thou mayest be justified.' With respect, then, to this argument, FAITH will arise from *suasion;* but with respect to the omnipotent and internal act of God, FAITH will arise from *an irresistible efficacy*.—Should any one object, 'That it is impossible 'for faith to spring at the same time from a SUASION *which may be* 'resisted, and from AN EFFICACY *which is irresistible;*' I have nothing to offer that will be any great contradiction to this remark. But I have another observation to make, that is somewhat different; it is this, 'In his omnipotent act God employs [or uses] 'this argument; and by this argument, when rightly understood, 'he efficaciously produces faith.' If it were otherwise, the operation would be expended on a *stone* or a *lifeless body*, and not upon the INTELLECT of a MAN."*

In another part of the letter, he says, "I do not deny, that faith is communicated to us through the Spirit of Christ, whom he has obtained from the Father, and of whom He is constituted the Donor and Dispenser by the Father. But we must observe, that the Spirit, considered absolutely *as the Author of faith*, precedes even the union of Christ with us: This conclusion may easily be drawn from the circumstance—that our union with Christ is perfected by the Spirit and faith.——There is nothing in that reasoning by Calvin of which I cannot heartily approve, if all things in it be rightly understood. For I confess, that the grace by which the Holy Spirit is bestowed, is not common to all men. I also acknowledge, that God's gratuitous [free] election may be said to be 'the fountain of faith;' but it is an election *to bestow faith* and *not to communicate salvation*. For *a believer* is elected to a participation of SALVATION, but *a sinner* is elected to FAITH. Let this passage also be taken into consideration, (2 Thess. ii. 13.) 'Because God hath ELECTED you to *salvation*

* See exactly a similar mode of reasoning, in the succeeding extract from Dr. Coplestone, (p. xv.) and from Arminius himself at the close of this volume, page 327.

through sanctification of the Spirit and *belief* of the truth,' &c.; and this two-fold election will be apparent. Or at least, it will seem impossible to say, that 'election to *salvation* is an election to *faith*;' because the former is produced 'through *faith* [or belief] and sanctification of the Spirit.'"

I might quote parallel passages from several of the old evangelical Arminians of the Church of England, but I prefer a large extract, illustrative of the topics which engaged the attention of Arminius, from a highly accomplished modern author, whose chaste and scriptural views of Revealed Truth will recommend themselves to the approbation of every christian, and who has expressed his "dissatisfaction" with some of "the attempts made to refute the Calvinistic opinions,"—attempts which seemed to him "often to retain as much error on their own side as they exposed on the opposite, and to deprive Christianity of much of that SPIRITUAL AND VITAL FORCE which is its main characteristic and essential property." I allude to Doctor Edward COPLESTON, Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, who thus expresses himself in his dispassionate "Enquiry into the Doctrines of NECESSITY and PREDESTINATION:"

"The next difficulty which I suppose may be objected to the opinions we maintain, is, that they are inconsistent with the language habitually employed by religious men to denote their sense of the supernatural agency exerted in the world. It is an undeniable fact, that in all ages and under all forms of religion, (setting aside for the present the doctrines of Revelation,) serious and good men have regarded the events of this life as subject to the controul of Divine Providence—that they have talked of the folly and conceit of mankind in supposing that *their* wisdom, *their* foresight, *their* power and contrivance, brought about the great or good things which happen—and though the men who make these reflections have had their hopes and fears, and taken their full share in planning and executing measures with a view to such events, yet after the event is passed, or even before it comes, in their graver and more contemplative hours they admit that it is God's will alone to which the whole is owing—and that all things have conspired to the furtherance of some great plan of his, which has either served to promote the happiness of men, or to illustrate his own transcendent excellence

"'Where then,' it may be said, 'is the consistency of all this? 'Either they do not, while they are acting, think as they do when 'truth forces these reflections from them; or, if they do, it is a 'proof that men may believe in a Superior Power bearing onward 'with a steady and irresistible course, and yet act in concurrence 'with that Power, just as if the issue depended on themselves.' Now as to the first of these suppositions, it may be admitted without scruple, that men do, while they are engaged in action, think more of their immediate business, than of the share the

Power above them takes in the same process—and that in calmer and more leisurely hours, the impression of that Supreme Influence returns upon the mind with increased force, as some sound which in the stillness of the night fills the air, yet is lost or unperceived amidst the several discords and noises of a busy day. But the position can never be conceded, that the belief of this controlling power is contradictory to the belief of the freedom of human actions. For in the first place it does not follow, that because we believe this power to be exercised, therefore it is exercised to the exclusion of all other influence. And again, it may be, (to speak in a manner adapted to human conception and human experience,) it may be kept in reserve to act upon occasions; it may form the *plan* and the *outline*, and delegate the subordinate parts to minor agents; it may, for the purpose of exercising the fidelity and zeal of those agents, one while keep itself out of sight; or at another, to animate their exertions, let them perceive its presence; or, to check their folly and presumption, make them feel their dependence, and frustrate their endeavours—it may, supposing these agents to have a will of their own, incline that will to act conformably to their duty, by making that duty appear easy and agreeable, by removing obstacles and terrors, and placing attractive objects in their way; or if the will be stubborn, it may make it feel the ill consequences of that stubbornness, and it may contrive that its perverseness shall defeat its own purpose, and forward some other purpose which is kind and beneficial: it may make the misconduct of one, instrumental to his own correction, or to the improvement and fidelity of the the rest, by shewing, in ordinary cases of disobedience, the evil he brings upon himself—or, in cases of extreme depravity, the utter abandonment and ruin to which the delinquent is left.

"Does any part of such a scheme either detract from the notion of a Supreme Intelligence planning, governing, guiding, and accomplishing the whole? or can such a conception, in the mind of man, of the scheme of Divine Providence tend to relax his energy, to discourage his industry, to impair the distinctions of right and wrong, or weaken the principle of duty and obedience?

"The only argument brought against it is borrowed from the difficulty of accounting for *evil* as mixed with God's creation, and of conceiving free-will in His creatures. But *difficulties* can never be listened to against the evidence of facts. The fact of the existence of evil no one denies—and the existence of free-will is by the concurrent unreflecting testimony of all mankind admitted to be a fact, opposed only by the metaphysical objections of a few. That all mankind act, speak, and think, as if the will were free, is admitted by these few themselves. And I trust it may be regarded as proved, that to think otherwise would deprive us of all motives to action, and all sense of right and wrong. It is only because they cannot conceive *how* these two things can co-exist,

that they call upon us to surrender our consciousness, our activity, and our moral principles.

"Precisely analogous to God's dealings in dispensing the good things of life, and to that method by which a sense of our dependence on him for the enjoyment of these blessings is kept alive in us, is the communication also of that unseen influence upon the mind which good and pious men desire, and the belief of which even under the guidance of the light of nature was very general. 'That every good and every perfect gift is from above,' is a sentiment not *introduced* but *adopted* by an Apostle of Christ. It occasionally breaks through the gloom of the philosophy and the religion of the heathen world: and the sublimer strains of their poetry speak the same language. 'That God favours those 'who yield to his influence—but that he rejects and abandons or 'drives on headlong to their ruin men who resist his will'—are frequent exclamations of those who contemplate with an awful wonder his moral government of the universe. 'That these wicked 'and rebellious men, when they fancy they are pursuing their own 'schemes, are baffled and foiled, and made subservient to those 'very purposes which they endeavour to defeat*—that they are 'raised aloft in order to render their fall more exemplary—that 'they are flattered for a time with the apparent success of their 'iniquity, in order that the punishment when it comes may be 'more heavy and more instructive'—these are reflections which cannot be new to any who are conversant with the ancient heathen writers; and they accord also with those occasional impressions which the passing events of life or the records of history make upon all serious minds.

"It is not till they involve themselves in metaphysical perplexities, that men regard these things as incompatible with the acknowledged attributes of God, or with the free-will of man. But when once they begin to enquire, 'whether the world might 'not have been constructed otherwise, whether evil might not have 'been dispensed with, whether what God foreknew can be said to 'proceed from the free-will of man, and whether He must not be 'understood as having pre-ordained every occurrence however 'minute or however iniquitous which takes place in the world,'† it is no wonder that their enquiries should be lost in endless mazes, or in a denial of something which it is as necessary to admit as any other proposition which they think proper to retain.

* See the arguments of Arminius, p. 827.

† Of the unguarded assertions respecting the agency of Divine Providence, which are sometimes made even by wise and good men, the following brief extracts from Dr. Chalmers's sermon on *Predestination*, will afford a fair example: "God is as much master of the human heart, as he is of the elements. Every step of every individual character receives as determinate a character from the hand of God as every mile of a planet's orbit, or every gust of wind, or every wave of the sea, or every particle of flying dust, or every rivulet of flowing water.

" If, however, these difficulties are traced up to some fundamental positions, that are not *contradictory,* but whose existence is only *inconceivable* to our faculties,—if each of these positions must be separately admitted, although their union is mysterious and unaccountable,—it is not *adding* to the difficulty, it is a natural and probable conclusion, ' that many *consequences* from each of ' those fundamental positions separately taken should be deducible, ' which are no more reconcilable with each other in our appre- ' hensions, than the original truths are from which they are derived.' To dwell upon these subordinate truths, these consequences of the original positions, to set them in array against each other, to represent him who holds the one side as necessarily contradicting the other, and to demand an explicit disavowal of every tenet connected with the one, before we will acknowledge that a man really believes the other, is the sure way to perpetuate strife, and to defeat the practical good which may be derived from both opinions. If that God made every thing, knowing beforehand all that would come to pass and all that men would do, be an undeniable truth—if nevertheless He deals with man as if he were free to act, and rewards and punishes him according to this trial—and we cannot *comprehend how* both these things should be true together,—we yet can *believe* them both *to be* true, and so believing, we may well conclude that many of our occasional reasonings concerning these things must be infected with the same apparent incongruity that strikes us in the enunciation of those first principles. We ought not to wonder at these difficulties; we ought rather to expect them. Strife must be endless, if we are not to rest till they are all explained and harmonized: and error, not truth, will prevail, if either position be so established as to exclude the other. Let us however carefully bear in mind that these are not *contradictions* but *apparent incongruities*—and the same answer which we give to those who press us with the *main* difficulty, must in all reason be allowed to cover these also.

" The book of God's *word* speaks a plainer language, but not a contradictory language to the book of God's *works.* He has bountifully bestowed upon us in this life, chequered as it is, gifts and blessings to animate our hopes and to reward our obedience: but He bids us receive them as flowing from his free grace—as no

" This power of God knows no exceptions; it is absolute and unlimited: And while it embraces the vast, it carries its resistless influence to all the minute and unnoticed diversities of existence: It reigns and operates through all the secrecies of the inner man: It gives birth to every purpose: It gives impulse to every desire: It gives shape and colour to every conception: It wields an entire ascendancy over every attribute of the mind; and the will, and the fancy, and the understanding, with all the countless variety of their hidden and fugitive operations, are submitted to it: It gives movement and direction through every one point in the line of our pilgrimage. At no one moment of time does it abandon us: It follows us to the hour of death, and it carries us to our place and our everlasting destiny in the region beyond it."—Such assertions as these require no comment!

man's right, though they be every man's hope—as objects of prayer to Him, no less than of exertion in themselves—and He would have us still awfully regard Him as knowing from all eternity whatever has been, is, or will be.

"In the dispensation, therefore, of those greater gifts and better promises which his *written word* has made known to mankind, we cannot but expect, that the same assertion of universal sovereignty, of absolute knowledge, and unbounded power, extending to all that we now do or shall do hereafter, would frequently be made. It is the seal of revelation set to one of the earliest conclusions of human reason. But we must also expect, that as in the *natural world* the trial of our virtue is apparently the main object, and the dispensations of providence seem to be especially designed to make us feel how much depends upon ourselves in this state of earthly discipline, so the trial of our faith should be set forth *in Scripture* as one grand purpose of our present being—that the more God has done for us, the more we should be called upon to do for ourselves—that if to secure His temporal blessings, virtue and prudence and industry are demanded on our part, still more to render ourselves capable of this glorious reward, we should be exhorted to lay aside every sin, and to labour in every branch of duty with redoubled diligence—that if, in the course of human affairs, men are wont to be disheartened by adversity and by the success of wicked men, insomuch that their belief in an over-ruling Providence is apt to be shaken or impaired, so in those severer trials which assail a Christian, still stronger and more distinct assurances of support should be given, still plainer declarations that God's purpose cannot ultimately be foiled by any powers of darkness—that He will not forsake his elect—but that He will comfort and cheer them through all the perils and hardships of their earthly pilgrimage. Lastly, if the *general laws of the creation* be not so propounded to us here, as to encourage negligence or presumption, but to awaken a lively sense of our dependence upon God, and of the necessity of prayer to Him for the continuance of his blessings—so we might well expect that the course of a Christian would in his *written word* be represented as anxious though full of hope—as liable to be stopped or turned aside or even frustrated by temptation—as needing a perpetual renewal of God's assisting grace, and a careful improvement of all those means of grace, which, if they shall appear to have been bestowed upon us in vain, will certainly be regarded as aggravating the guilt of sin, and will increase our condemnation."

In this Introduction it is unnecessary to exhibit even the outlines of Arminianism, since they form a great part of the subject of this volume, and may be studied to better advantage in the admirable Works of Arminius which have been lately translated into English. But as these highly benevolent principles have

been frequently (and I may add *purposely*) misrepresented, I subjoin a brief exposition of them from the pen of a Calvinist, who, notwithstanding the prejudices of his party, has produced one of the most impartial, correct, moderate, and comprehensive accounts of the scriptural system of Arminius, that have been published in the English language, and one that contains a manly refutation of the errors with which that system has been falsely charged:

"Arminianism, strictly speaking, is that system of religious doctrine which was taught by Arminius, professor of divinity in the university of Leyden. If therefore we would learn precisely what Arminianism is, we must have recourse to those writings in which that divine himself has stated and expounded his peculiar tenets. This, however, will by no means give us an accurate idea of that which, since his time, has been usually denominated Arminianism. On examination, it will be found, that in many important particulars, those who have called themselves Arminians, or have been accounted such by others, differ as widely from the nominal head and founder of their sect, as he himself did from Calvin and other doctors of Geneva. There are, indeed, certain points, with regard to which he has been strictly and uniformly followed by almost all his pretended adherents;* but there are others of equal or of greater importance, dogmatically insisted on by them, to which he unquestionably never gave his sanction, and even appears to have been decidedly hostile. Such a distinction, obvious as it must be to every attentive reader, has yet been generally so far overlooked, that the memory of Arminius is frequently loaded with imputations the most unreasonable and unjust. He is accused by the ignorant and the prejudiced, of introducing corruptions into the Christian church, which he probably never thought of, and which certainly have no place in his works. And all the odium which his followers have from time to time incurred by their varied and increasing heterodoxy, has been absurdly reflected upon him, as if he could be responsible for every error that may be sent abroad under the sanction of his name. Whatever be the number or the species of these errors, and in whatever way they may be associated with his principles, it is fair to the character of Arminius, and useful to the interests of religious truth, to revert to his own writings as the only source from which we ought to derive information concerning the Arminian scheme. And by doing so it may be discovered, that genuine unadulterated Arminianism is not that great and dangerous heresy which among a certain class of Christians it is too often represented to be; and that though it

* That in which Arminius has been "uniformly followed" by his adherents, is the foundation of his system—the Divine Foresight of Faith and Perseverance in those who are finally saved.

may still be thought less scriptural and less logical than Calvinism,* yet it does not deserve to be reprobated as wholly inimical to the grace and glory of the gospel.

"Having made these preliminary remarks, we shall now endeavour to give a short and correct view of Arminianism in the proper sense of that term. Arminianism is to be considered as a separation from Calvinism, with regard to the doctrines of unconditional election, particular redemption, and other points necessarily resulting from these.† The Calvinists held, that God had elected a certain portion of the human race to eternal life, passing by the rest, or rather dooming them to everlasting destruction; that God's election proceeded upon no prescience of the moral principles and character of those whom he had thus predestinated, but originated solely in the motions of his free and sovereign mercy; that Christ died for the elect only, and therefore, that the merits of his death can avail for the salvation of none but them; and that they are constrained by the irresistible power‡ of

* "Less *scriptural*" than Calvinism it cannot be, even according to this writer's own showing in the preceding paragraphs. As to Arminianism being "less *logical*," I wish the test of this fact might be made by a comparison between Dr. COPLESTONE's account of the agency of Divine Providence, which I have just quoted, and that lately given by Dr. CHALMERS in his sermon on Predestination, from which I have already given an extract, (pages 16 and 17,) and in which he advances sentiments as *unscriptural* and *illogical* as those which I have produced from Archer, page 438. Till I saw that sermon, the shocking and incautious expressions in which filled me with horror, I had always supposed that the active and benevolent Dr. Chalmers was the author of the very able article ARMINIANISM, in Dr. BREWSTER's *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*.

But if by "Logical" the author means "Metaphysical," (a very common mistake in these days,) the point will be readily conceded; and of that field of speculative divinity, the Calvinists will be left in undisturbed possession, provided they will receive, in the spirit of meekness, the observations made by Bishop Womack in a succeeding page. (196.)

† The difference between Arminianism and Calvinism, even on the Five Points, is far less than many persons imagine. In no work have I seen this trifling difference so clearly and ably stated, as in GOODWIN's *Agreement and Distance of Brethren*, which I have quoted in other parts of this Introduction, and which it is my intention soon to republish for the benefit of the present generation.

‡ In the year 1623, the famous James CAPELLUS, at that time Professor of Divinity at Sedan, published two Theological Theses, the first of which was *On the Controversies that agitate the United Provinces*, and in which, among other charges against the Arminians, he adduces the following: "But the "Arminians detract greatly from the Power of God, since they represent the "numerous attempts and the mighty struggles of Divine Omnipotence as capable "of being always overcome by man, and assert, that they are, in fact, every day "successfully resisted."

The reply which the eloquent Episcopius returned to this false representation, is worthy of attentive consideration: "These expressions are unappropriate; because nothing can be detracted from Divine Power, where that Divine Power is not exerted. In the conversion of man, Capellus supposes God to employ 'his '*ordinary power*, which at all times, and by its own force, produces its effect.'— Those persons against whom he disputes, deny this assertion by the subjoined argument: 'Wherever that power is employed, *which, at all times, and by its*

divine grace to accept of him as their Saviour.—To this doctrine, that of Arminius and his legitimate followers stands opposed: They do not deny an election; but they deny that it is absolute and unconditional. They argue, that an election of this kind is inconsistent with the character of God, that it destroys the liberty of the human will, that it contradicts the language of scripture, and that it tends to encourage a careless and licentious practice in those by whom it is believed. They maintain, that God has elected those only who, according *not to his decree*, but *to his foreknowledge* and in the exercise of their natural powers of self-determination, acting under the influence of his grace, would possess that faith and holiness to which salvation is annexed in the gospel scheme. And those who are *not* elected are allowed to perish, not because they were not elected, but merely and solely in consequence of their infidelity and disobedience; on account, indeed, of which infidelity and disobedience being foreseen by God, their election did not take place. They hold, that Christ died for *all* men, in the literal and unrestricted sense of that phrase; that his atonement is able, both from its own merit, and from the intention of him who appointed it, to expiate the guilt of every individual; that every individual is invited to partake of the benefits which it has procured;* that the grace of God is offered to make the will

'*own force, produces its effect*, there is no place left either for precepts, promises, 'or threatenings, and therefore none either for obedience or disobedience, for 'reward or punishment. It is the will of Him who commands any thing, that 'his commands should be performed by him to whom he issues those commands: 'But when he performs that thing himself, it is not his will that it should be 'performed by another; otherwise, he would, at the same time, be both *willing* 'and *unwilling* for it to be performed by another.—But wherever no place is left 'to precepts, there is none left to obedience or disobedience, and consequently 'none to promises or threatenings, to rewards or punishments.'—Now, when Arminius says, [in the words of Capellus,] 'that it is in the power of man successfully to resist or overcome the numerous attempts and the mighty struggles 'of Divine Power,' he does not represent man as capable of placing *a still greater power* in opposition to Divine Omnipotence: For what man, except an atheist, would make such an affirmation? But he only wishes to convey the idea, that it is possible for man to place his disobedience and contumacy in opposition to the Divine influences, commands, exhortations, supplications, protestations, instigations, and inspirations,—all of which undoubtedly are *numerous attempts and mighty struggles*: So that, when God wills and demands obedience from man, it is possible for man to be unwilling to obey, and thus to render himself guilty and liable to punishment. In this act [of opposition to God's will] no power, properly so called, is posited, that can, in the least degree, derogate from the power of God. For simple disobedience is only a free willingness or unwillingness, by which man is said metaphorically to overcome God, because to the Divine Will he opposes a contrary will, and thus withdraws himself from obedience to God." &c.

* One of the most forcible of the numerous passages of Scripture, which clearly express the intentional freeness and universality of God's invitation to his lost and offending creatures, is that solemn ministerial commission which Christ gave to his eleven Apostles, and through them to his chosen messengers in all succeeding ages: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. He "that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall

comply with this invitation, but that this grace may be resisted and rendered ineffectual by the sinner's perversity. Whether true believers necessarily persevered, or whether they might fall from

" be damned." Christian ministers are commanded to propose the Gospel in its glorious plenitude, and with the meekness and perseverance of Christ himself, " to every creature," as an appointed merciful test of that creature's obedience or disobedience to the Heavenly Calling : And that this test is not a mockery with respect even to those who finally neglect or despise the Divine Invitation, is clearly proved, both by the tender expostulations of Christ with those who rejected his proffered benefits, and by many equally striking passages in the Old and New Testaments. (See pages 127, 128.) To this use of the Gospel, as a DIVINELY-APPOINTED TEST to all moral agents, to whom " its sound is gone forth," St. Paul adverts, when he informs the Romans, (xvi, 26,) that the Gospel is now, " according to the commandment of the everlasting God, made known to all nations *for the obedience of faith.*" He speaks in a similar strain at the commencement of the same epistle, (i, 5,) " By the Son of God we have received grace and apostleship, *for obedience to the faith* among all nations," &c. He immediately subjoins the purpose for which this grace and faith are bestowed : " Among whom are ye also *the called of Jesus Christ*,—beloved of God, called to be saints." When attention is paid to this calling, God " giveth more grace :" His promise is, " *To him that hath shall be given, and he shall have more abundantly.*" After this manner " his Divine Power hath given unto us all things that pertain unto life and godliness, through the knowledge of Him *that hath called us to glory and virtue* : Whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, that by these ye might be partakers of the Divine Nature," &c. (2 Pet. i, 4.)

But on this subject, the following remarks, from John GOODWIN'S *Agreement and Distance of Brethren*, are exceedingly appropriate : " We are not able to conceive how the Gospel can with simplicity, truth, and clearness of sense and notion, be preached unto every creature under heaven, in this or any like tenor of words, *If thou believest, thou shalt be saved*, unless it be granted and supposed, that Christ died for all and every man, or in case it should be said to any man for whom Christ did not die, *If thou believest, thou shalt be saved :* Such a saying cannot be justified, nor avouched for truth ; because where a commodity is not, it cannot be had upon any condition or terms whatsoever. Now certain it is, that there is no salvation in Christ for any man, but only for those for whom he died. Therefore, to encourage such a man to believe, for whom Christ died not, by saying unto him, that, in case he believes, he shall be saved,—is but to feed him with ashes, or to make him glad with lies. For how should such a man be saved, yea, though he should believe, for whom there was no salvation purchased by Christ; especially considering that his believing in Christ would not invest Christ with any more salvation, than was in him before, and, consequently, whether he believed or no ? The Synod of Dort itself, in some of its members, saw and acknowledged the convincing force of this argument; though their heart, it seemeth, served them not to displease their company for the truth's sake.—We judge, that our brethren's doctrine, asserting ' that Christ died only for those few who will, in conclusion, ' be actually saved,' will not abide the touch of that golden touch-stone of doctrines, the description of the Gospel, delivered by the Apostle, 1 Tim. vi, 3, [' *the doctrine which is according to godliness.*'] If a minister of the Gospel should go and preach this doctrine to a numerous auditory of souls, ' that God ' hath given his Son Jesus Christ to die for the salvation only of a small handful ' of men and women in the world (comparatively,) and that none of them who ' were now before him had any certainty, that they or any of them were of this ' number; yea, and that the best amongst men had very little ground to hope or ' think, that he should be one of these few, and that the rest of mankind, let them ' do the best that they are able, shall, notwithstanding, be certainly damned;' (for all this is nothing but the evident and express import of our brethren's doctrine :)

their faith, and forfeit their state of grace, was a question which Arminius left unresolved,* but which was soon determined by his followers in this additional proposition, that saints may fall from the state of grace in which they are placed by the operation of the Holy Spirit. This, indeed, seems to follow as a corollary, from what Arminius maintained respecting the natural freedom and corruption of the will, and the resistibility of divine grace.

" In this way, the Arminians suppose that they get free of all the absurdities and dangerous consequences which they allege to be involved in the Calvinistic scheme; and, at the same time, detract nothing from the freeness and sovereignty of divine grace that can be reasonably considered as essential to them.† Whether

must not such a message as this, being believed, directly cause a fearful despondency of heart and soul, a general hanging down of hands amongst them, a quenching of all desires, and consequently of all endeavours, either to apply themselves to the means of believing, or to the exercising of themselves unto godliness in one kind or other? Or doth such a doctrine as this any ways agree with that declaration which the Angel made concerning the Gospel unto the shepherds; '*Fear not, for behold I bring you good tidings of great joy, that shall be to all people.*'—We judge that Christ died for all those who stand bound to believe, or to depend on him for salvation. Because God is never found to encourage, exhort, or call men unto, but constantly to dissuade and take men off from, vain dependencies, and from trusting in those, whether persons or things, which are not able or like to help them. Instances hereof, we are able, if need were, to produce very many. Now that all men without exception, considered as men, stand bound to believe, or to depend on Christ for salvation, is to us out of question. Therefore, we cannot but judge that he died for all men.—That doctrine which directly tends to separate and divide between the creature and the Creator, blessed for ever, or to create and raise jealousies and hard thoughts in the former against the latter, cannot be evangelical, nor consonant to the *Truth, which is according to godliness:* But such we judge our brethren's doctrine clearly to be, which denieth Christ's dying for all men without exception."

* That Arminius did not leave this question " unresolved," will be seen in a succeeding page, (156,) and is further confirmed by a note in his Works, vol. i, p. 601. The reason why he did not express his thoughts so fully on this Point, as on the other Four in the Calvinistic controversy, will be found in his reluctance to deliver any decisive opinion on subjects which he had not fully investigated. There are difficulties in it, which are not apparent at first sight to a cursory observer; and if Arminius had entirely co-incided with the moderate Calvinists on this point, he would only have imitated some of the staunchest of the early English Arminians, who believed in *the Final Perseverance of the Saints* in the sense which the Calvinists attach to this phrase. In this, however, as well as in other articles of his creed, he gave sufficient proof of the venerable guides whom he followed, on all topics about which he felt the least hesitation: These were the Ancient Fathers of the Church, whose " concurrent testimony" or " general consent," in the purest ages of Christianity, was, to him and to all our great Protestant Reformers, a safe but not an infallible rule for the interpretation of the doctrines of Scripture. Had he not been cut off at an immature age, he would have favoured the world with his chaste and scriptural views of this interesting subject.

† The admission in this paragraph, which truth has extorted, is exceedingly important. The Arminians undoubtedly " succeed in their views to all the extent" which they desire, when " they get free of all the absurdities and dangerous con-

they succeed in these views to all the extent they imagine, may be justly disputed. But they certainly take away something of that harsh and forbidding aspect, with which Calvinism, in its broad undisguised form, seems to cloud the religion of mercy and benevolence.

"It may now be proper to mention some tenets with regard to which Arminianism has been much misrepresented. If a man hold that good works are necessary to justification;* if he main-

sequences which they allege to be involved in the Calvinistic scheme,"—the sole object contemplated by Arminius when he opposed the desecrating dogmas of the Genevan Reformer and of his more incautious successors. That some who call themselves ARMINIANS are *Arminiores Arminio*, is as true, in fact, as that there are some among their opponents who are more Calvinistic than Calvin himself: Men of this class may perhaps be too sanguine in "imagining," that Arminianism solves ALL the difficulties of Divine Revelation or Providence,—a result to which, it has already been shewn, (page xi,) it makes no pretensions.

It has been granted in a preceding paragraph, (page xx,) "that Arminianism does not deserve to be reprobated as wholly inimical to the grace and glory of the Gospel." In the notes to *the Works of Arminius*, (vol. i, pp. 593—636,) I have adduced copious proofs of the fact, that Arminianism ascribes far greater efficiency and strength to Divine Grace, from its commencement to its consummation, than Calvinism does; and that the latter scheme, though in general very scriptural in its description of the immediate visible effects of Grace in Conversion, "allows this holy principle to be afterwards so inoperative in *the elect*, as to suffer them *to serve the law of God* only with one part, 'with that which is regenerate,' and *to serve the law of sin* with the other part, 'with that which remaineth of corruption.' This doctrine beats down the legitimate aspirings of Divine Grace after a holy conformity to God, and to controvert and explain away the positive commands of God our Saviour concerning personal sanctity."

"The Arminians suppose," therefore, with great justice, in the words of this liberal Encyclopædist, "that they detract nothing from the *freeness* and *sovereignty* of Divine Grace that can be reasonably considered as essential to *them*:" And it is no slight additional praise, if, in the words of the same author, "they take away something of that harsh and forbidding aspect with which Calvinism seems to cloud the religion of mercy and benevolence."

* The following quotation from Dr. COPLESTONE'S *Enquiry into the Doctrines of Necessity and Predestination*, exhibits in a favourable view the tenets of the early Arminians on this point:

"Man cannot bear to be told that his nature is a corrupt, a fallen, and a sinful nature: That the carnal, or in other words, the natural mind is at emnity with God: That if he seeks to be reconciled with God, he must seek it alone through the merits of a Redeemer. To Him, not to his own doings, however diligently he may labour in the regulation of his own mind, or in the service of his fellow-creatures, to his Saviour he must refer the whole merit and the whole efficacy of his salvation. That Saviour hath said, 'that he came to seek and save them that were lost.' And every man who would be his disciple, let him be the wisest and most virtuous of men, must believe that he himself was one of those lost creatures whom Christ came to save. He must not only acknowledge with his lips, but in his heart he must feel, that in the sight of God his best deeds are nothing worth—that however they may tend, as they certainly will tend, to make him happier upon earth, they have no power whatever to raise him to heaven.

"Nay, more than this, if he trust to himself, if he indulge himself in setting a value before God upon any thing that he does, these very deeds will be the instrumental cause of his ruin: They will lead him *from* that gate through which

tain that faith includes good works in its own nature; if he reject the doctrine of original sin; if he deny that divine grace

alone he can enter, and will carry him farther and farther in a wrong direction. His good works will never bring him to Christ, but if he lay hold on Christ in sincerity of faith, He will easily and quickly bring him to good works. He is the way, the truth and the life. He is emphatically called the door of the kingdom of heaven. No man cometh to the Father but by Him. If then there be in any man's breast a secret longing after self-righteousness—if there be a disposition, however faint, to justify himself by his own performance—any lurking conceit that he, being so much better than others, stands less in need of that atoning merit than the worst of his fellow-creatures, let not such an one think that he will receive any thing from the Lord. He may, perhaps, upon examination find, that he has exercised himself in doing what he thinks his duty—that he has abstained from excess—that he has dealt justly, and worked diligently for the good of mankind—that he has even practised many of those virtues which are most truly Christian—that he has been kind, patient, humble, charitable, meek, forgiving—yet if his heart be a stranger to God, giving its affections not to things above, but to things on the earth, if he suffer it to plead any one of these services as entitled to reward from God, or as fit even to bear his inspection, he is still in his sins—he will be left to wander on according to his own wayward fancies, and will never find the gate of salvation.

"In thus turning from the lying vanities of self-righteousness to the true and living God, he must not flatter himself that the change is his own work. He must not take credit to himself for the victory, but must give God the praise for having called him out of darkness into his marvellous light. 'No man cometh 'to me,' said our Lord, 'except my Father draw him.' To God then be our thanks and praise rendered, as the giver not only of our natural, but of our spiritual life. He is, as our Church often confesses, the Author of all godliness. 'Of his own will begat he us with the word of truth.—It is God that worketh in 'us both to will and to do of his good pleasure.' His grace brought us to the knowledge of the truth, and unless we resist or neglect his gracious influence, in spite of all the powers of darkness, his grace will preserve us in it.

"Here then we may seem to have arrived at a point where the difficulties of the Christian pilgrimage are to end. And here, if we accept the Calvinistic doctrine of indefectible grace and final perseverance, they *do* end. But how contrary is this not only to the natural light of reason which God has implanted in us, but to the whole tenor and complexion of the Christian doctrines as revealed by our Lord and as inculcated by the Apostles?

"Does not our blessed Lord himself, in his character of Son of Man, express all that feeling of uncertainty about the faith of his followers, which is so natural to the human heart, and so descriptive of the contingency of what is to come? 'Simon, Simon, I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not; and when thou 'art converted, strengthen thy brethren.'

"Or again, if we pursue the whole train of St. Paul's reasoning, or of any one of the Apostles, shall we not find the same anxiety for the future, both in the case of themselves individually, and of those whom they address, which indicates the still undetermined nature of their spiritual condition? 'Be not high-minded, 'but fear.—Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.—If he draw 'back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him.—If ye live after the flesh, ye shall 'die.—I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection; lest that by any 'means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a cast-away.'

"It is, in this point of view, that the Calvinistic doctrine appears to be most dangerous, and most at variance with the example of Apostolical teaching. They continually represent election in Christ as a reason why the true Christian *is* zealous of good works. Undoubtedly it is a reason, and a powerful one—but the Apostles

is requisite for the whole work of sanctification; if he speak of human virtue as meritorious in the sight of God;* it is very gene-

take pains to represent it as a reason not why he *is* so, but why he *ought to be*. 'Put on therefore,' says St. Paul to the Colossians, 'put on as the elect of God, 'holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, 'long-suffering.'"

* To these monstrous doctrines, with which Arminianism has been often branded, the writer might have added, "the great antipathy, evinced by many members of "the Church of England, against the bare mention of the abiding and comfortable "influence of the Holy Spirit, though such scriptural *indwelling* and *consolation* "are recognized in every portion of the public formularies of the Church, and "especially in her Seventeeth Article."—According to the doctrine of that Article, "the godly consideration of *Predestination* and *Election in Christ* is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons," Arminians as well as Calvinists, "and such as feel in themselves the working of the SPIRIT OF CHRIST, mortifying the works of the flesh and their earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things: as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal salvation to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God," &c.

When I peruse the theological tirades uttered by several modern writers against *this immediate Divine Influence on the hearts of men*, both in the work of Conversion and in that of Sanctification,—an influence which is one of the numerous scriptural "promises" that are "YEA and AMEN in Christ Jesus," and which is amply recognized in the public formularies of every Protestant Church in Europe, but which is stigmatized by these imprudent and unskilful divines as "Enthusiasm,"—when I peruse their curious productions, I am sometimes tempted to think, that were St. Paul deputed to put to them the question which he once addressed to the early disciples at Ephesus, "Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?," (if the mere *historical faith in the general truth of the Scriptures* of these moderns may be dignified with the appellation of "Christian belief,") the blessed Apostle would receive nearly a similar answer to that which the Ephesians delivered, "We have not so much as heard [except from a few misguided enthusiasts,] whether there be any Holy Ghost!" In one sense at least, the reply would be appropriate; for such men ingenuously acknowledge, that they have never had any personal experience of the hallowing impulses of the Holy Spirit,—without which, nothing human is holy, nothing is strong,—and without which, Christianity itself, as explained by these frozen moralizers, would be only a skeleton of doctrines very little superior to the abstract theories of moral virtue invented by Plato, Seneca, or Epictetus. But, on this subject, one of the inspired interpreters of the will of God has well remarked, "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness to him. Neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned."

Few men have marked with greater abhorrence, than I have done in various parts of this volume, the perversion of this Divine Influence, when it is no longer applied to the spiritual interests of the man and his actual progress in personal holiness, but is extended to matters beyond himself, and erroneously confounded with the sanguine wishes and the inward persuasion of his own spirit respecting a change in Church or State, or other subjects equally alien to the sanctifying purposes, for the accomplishment of which the aids of the Holy Spirit have been promised. But though I have strongly reprehended such perversions of the doctrine of DIVINE GUIDANCE AND COMFORT, yet it is no test of "true philosophy," (a distinction to which these objectors aspire,) to repudiate a revealed verity, because it is liable to be abused either by the weak or the wicked. There is not a blessing, of this or any other class, which Heaven in its illimitable bounty has bestowed on man, that might not be rejected with as great a sem-

rally concluded, that he is an Arminian. But the truth is, that a man of such sentiments is more properly a disciple of the Pelagian and Socinian schools. To such sentiments pure Arminianism is as diametrically opposite as Calvinism itself is. The genuine Arminians admit the corruption of human nature in its full extent. They admit, that we are justified by faith only. They admit, that our justification originates solely in the grace of God. They admit, that the procuring and meritorious cause of our justification is the righteousness of Christ. *Propter quam,* says Arminius, *Deus credentibus peccatum condonet eosque pro justis reputat non aliter atque si legem perfecte implevissent.* They admit in this way, that justification implies not merely forgiveness of sin, but acceptance to everlasting happiness. *Junctam habet adoptionem in filios, et collationem juris in hereditatem vitæ eternæ.* They admit, in fine, that the work of sanctification, from its very commencement to its perfection in glory,* is carried on by the oper-

blance of reason.—Indeed, after a careful examination of the testimony both of living witnesses and of books, I find this doctrine, when applied in the manner which the Scriptures direct to *the furtherance of personal holiness*, is, of all others, the least capable of being rendered pernicious: It becomes hurtful, chiefly when it is made to testify positively concerning an individual's absolute election to life eternal, and his assured final perseverance. Such persons soon make the discovery that they are spiritual; and since their eternal interests are thus permanently secured, they require none of that one exhortation, (2 Pet. i, 5,) "Beside this, giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue; and to virtue knowledge, &c.: For if these things be in you and abound, they make you that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ." The same Apostle immediately exhorts them "to make their calling and election SURE," but appends to it a condition respecting their *final perseverance* which cannot be relished by Calvinists, "If ye do these things, ye shall never fall."

* The Arminians ascribe far greater efficacy to the grace of God, in the work of sanctification, than the Calvinists. While the latter confine the experience of mature Christians to that expression of a man under the law, *O wretched man that I am!*, and while they account it the height of presumption for any one to talk about *going on to perfection*, (though exhorted so to do by an Apostle, Heb. vi, 1, in addition to the higher authority of Christ himself, Matt. v, 48,) the Arminians think they cannot put too much honour on Divine Grace, or fall into error by trying to fulfil all the evangelical commands of their "Father who is in heaven."

When, contrary to the explicit declarations of nearly the whole of the New Testament, the modern Predestinarians fixed upon certain phrases in the seventh chapter to the Romans as the low standard of Christian experience, they discarded the authority of their former favourite, St. Augustine, and brought his unfledged system into contempt. That good old Father has, on this subject, some strong passages, which will not be relished by the modern school of Fatalists. On the 56th Psalm he says, "God would never command us to do that thing, if He "judged it impossible to be done of man: If thou, therefore, considering thine "infirmity, faintest under the precept, be comforted by example; for He that "gave us his *example* is at hand, that He may also afford us his *aid.*"—In his 191st *Discourse on Time*, he likewise says: "I execrate the blasphemy of those men who assert, *that any thing is impossible to be done which God commands man to do.* Each of God's commands can be fulfilled, not merely by a single individual, but by all men in general."—Few sentences contain so much sound divinity in few

ation of the Holy Spirit, which is the gift of God by Jesus Christ. So sound, indeed, are the Arminians with respect to the

words, as the following, which Prosper has given us from St. Augustine: "The "Law is given, that Grace may be sought; Grace is given, that the Law may "be fulfilled."—One of the numerous paradoxes in the history of these opinions, is, that the very men who admire St. Augustine for the species of particular Predestination which he taught towards the close of life, reprehend their Arminian brethren, and stigmatize them as "Pelagians," for adopting the sentiments of this great antagonist of Pelagius on the subject of Christian Perfection. On this point, Episcopius has written an able dissertation, in the 17th chapter of his *Apology for the Remonstrants' Confession*, and proves by unanswerable arguments, "that man can perform the commands of God by the aid of Grace Divine." See also the use which Arminius has made of St. Augustine's authority. (Vol. i, p. 614.)—King James, who was a better Divine than Politician, had this Father's avowed opinions in view when he delivered the following just sentiment on the Lord's Prayer: "It is blasphemy to say, *that any of Christ's precepts are impos-* "*sible:* For that were to give Him the lie who told us out of his own mouth, "that *his yoke is easy and his burden light:* And Christ's intimate disciple saith, "that *his commandments are not grievous.* (1 John v, 3.)"

In the answer, given by Episcopius to the 19th of the 64 Questions which his Theological Students addressed to him while he was Professor at Amsterdam, he has explained the meaning of this passage, *Be ye therefore perfect, as your Father who is in heaven is perfect;* (Matt. v, 48.) and at the conclusion of his explanation, he resolves two other questions, the first of which is the following: "Is it possible for man, when assisted by Divine Grace, to perform all the commands of God, even according to a perfect method of performance? That is, using now the word LOVE (dilectio) in a general sense for an observance of the Divine commands, is it possible for a man to evince as much love, as he ought to do according to the requisitions of the Gospel, or according to the covenant of Grace?"—"About the affirmative of this matter," Episcopius says, "I entertain no doubt. My reasons are: (1.) God requires no other love than that which may be exercised by *the whole mind, and soul, and strength.* God, therefore, demands nothing which is above or beyond *the strength of man* to perform.—(2.) God promises, that He will circumcise the heart of his people, *that they may love him with all their heart and with all their soul.* (Deut. xxx, 6)—(3.) God himself bears testimony, that there have been those who have, all the days of their lives, observed all his commandments with all their heart, and with all their soul, and with all their strength; and this have they done in the sight of God, as we may perceive by what is said concerning Asa, in 1 Kings xv, 14:—concerning all the people, in 2 Chron. xv, 12;—concerning David, in 1 Kings xi, 34; xiv, 8; & xv, 11;—concerning Josiah, in 2 Kings xxii, 2, *because he returned to the Lord with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his might, according to all the law of Moses.* (2 Kings xxiii, 25.) We find all these things ascribed, by God, under the old covenant, to the individuals already enumerated: What man, therefore, can doubt concerning the same excellences finding a place under the new covenant?" He then proceeds to discuss "the vulgar distinction between *a perfection of parts* and *a perfection of degrees;* and observes at the close, "No mortal can rise to the *degree* of the Divine Perfection, which is incapable of increase. It is the nature of love not to rest or stand still, but always to be desirous of making progress; and this love never thinks about what is finished, but always about that which is to come."

The second Question is proposed in these terms: "Is a most intense perfection of this kind absolutely necessary to salvation?" To this Episcopius replies: "We are not here treating about *legal perfection*, which embraces all and every kind of unsinning obedience in the highest degree, which also is perpetual, and which excludes through life every imperfection, infirmity, and inadvertence; for

doctrine of justification, (a doctrine so important and essential in the opinion of Luther, that he scrupled not to call it *Articulus ecclesiæ stantis vel cadentis,*) that those who look into the writings of Arminius, may be disposed to suspect him of having even exceeded Calvin in orthodoxy.* It is certain, at least, that he declares his willingness to subscribe to every thing that Calvin has written on that leading subject of Christianity, in the third book of his Institutes. And with this declaration, the tenor of his writings invariably corresponds."†—*Edinburgh Encyclopædia.*

we believe this perfection to be morally impossible. But *evangelical perfection* comprises two things: (1.) A perfection proportioned to the powers (or strength) of each individual. (2.) A desire of always making advances towards what is better, and of increasing that strength still more and more. This perfection varies in the ratio of those who are commencing, of those who are proficients, and of those who are perfect, in the knowledge of Divine Truth and Charity as commanded. On this account, one perfection is more intense than another, or the perfection of some persons is more intense than that of others. The same perfection neither is nor can be in all and in each, nor can it belong to all and each: Yet the most intense perfection of all and of each is necessary to salvation, according to the unequal powers (or strength). This intense perfection we have placed in the circumstance of *the inequality of their powers*, that no one may omit or commit any thing which he knows he ought, and has it in his power, not to omit or commit,—that is, that he may not sin against his own conscience, of whatever kind his conscience may be Thus, the desire of making constant advances towards what is better, is common to all; and, therefore, this ought to be equal and alike in all and in each, according to their several powers. It is also absolutely necessary to salvation, and ought to precede even penitence itself, or to follow all penitence; both of which may be proved by numerous scriptural testimonies, which it is no part of our present design to produce."

* Of the superior orthodoxy of Arminius in the sense of the Church of England and of the Ancient Fathers, the reader will find cogent proofs in a succeeding page. (274.)

† To this extract succeeds the paragraph quoted by me in page 801. I add as a curious piece of church-history, the same writer's account of the manner in which Arminianism has infused itself into Scotland:

"From England, Arminianism travelled into Scotland, where, however, it made no great impression for a long series of years, having to contend with a strong and rooted attachment to the doctrine and discipline of Geneva, and being generally united with episcopacy, of which the Scottish nation has been always and utterly abhorrent. Since the middle of the last century it has been rapidly gaining ground, particularly among that class of the higher ranks in which there is still left a serious and practical belief of the truth of Christianity. Of the Clergy, a few venture to preach it openly in some of its most corrupted forms. There are a great many, too, who so far acquiesce in it, as never to meddle with the doctrines of Election and Reprobation in their public or private ministrations; some from a decided disbelief of them, and others from a mere conviction of their inexpediency. Such of them as carefully avoid, or openly oppose it, (and these form a body respectable both for number and for character,) are certainly best entitled to the praise of honesty, the Confession of Faith which they subscribe being rigidly Calvinistic, and each of them being required at his ordination to renounce the Arminian heresy. A great proportion of the common people are still so fond of the dogma of Absolute Predestination, which they too often abuse, that they look on those who deny it with anger, or with pity; and seem to have the same sentiments, with regard to Arminianism, which were declared by Mr. Rouse, in the English

In the celebrated "Address to the Christian Reader," which Professor Poelenburgh prefixed to the second volume of *the Theological Works* of EPISCOPIUS, the following judicious and discriminating observations occur: "Besides, I am accustomed to admire the consummate equity and moderation of our men [the Arminians], in forming their sentiments about those matters which are at this day subjects of controversy among Christians. For, while some parties seem generally to diverge to certain extremes, or are hurried down precipices, our people, with prudent moderation, have held the way in which nothing might be found that savoured of asperity, that conveyed an unusual sound to Christian ears, or that might seem offensively to oppose the general taste either of divines or of other believers, whether they lived in former ages, or are our cotemporaries.

"(1.) Disputes are maintained concerning THE FOREKNOWLEDGE OF GOD, and it has been asked, *Does Divine Prescience comprehend, among other things, future contingencies?* On this point many persons have proceeded so far as daringly to decide even on the mode of God's foreknowledge, and have said, 'God 'foreknows things contingent, because He has already pre-deter-'mined all things from all eternity by an immutable decree:' According to this mode, then, it follows as a necessary consequence, that God has before determined that even sins should be committed.—Others, in their desire to avoid this rock, have fallen upon one equally erroneous, and, that God may not be represented by them as *the author of sin*, have entirely divested Him of this foreknowledge of things contingent: In this manner, therefore, in the estimation of almost all Christians, these persons detract greatly from the Divine Perfections.—What then is the opinion of our Remonstrants on this point? They neither deny the Divine Foreknowledge, nor yet do they derive it from an eternal decree, lest they should deprive God of that which is his, or lest they should ascribe to Him any thing incongruous: But occupying a middle way, and that a very safe one, they acknowledge foreknowledge in God; and yet they account the mode, by which God comprehends those future things, to be altogether incomprehensible and beyond human investigation.

"(2.) Discussions have likewise arisen concerning CHRIST'S

parliament, when he said, that 'it makes the grace of God lackey after the will 'of man; that it was no better than the Trojan horse; that an Arminian is the 'spawn of a Papist; and that he is ready to turn into one of those frogs that rose 'out of the bottomless pit.' It must be acknowledged, however, and we state it from personal observation, that this sort of bigotry, for which our native land has been long remarkable, is gradually yielding its place to more liberal sentiments; and that the time seems to be fast approaching, when a man may be, without incurring any reproach, either a Calvinist or an Arminian, if he be only sincere in his belief, and conscientious in his regard to the ordinances and duties of Christianity."—*Edinburgh Encyclopedia.*

SATISFACTION FOR OUR SINS; on which point some persons have asserted, that Christ has so satisfied, as to render our repentance unnecessary for obtaining pardon, although the Scriptures eloquently admonish us in the following words: 'Repent, therefore, 'and be converted, *that your sins may be blotted out,*' &c.—On the contrary, other persons, when they perceive this doctrine to be destructive of the very sinews of repentance, have entirely discarded all satisfaction, nay they have banished from Theology the very term, as the hiding-place of a most grievous error.—What is the course which the Remonstrants pursue? They neither reject the word 'SATISFACTION,' because it is capable of being employed in a correct sense; nor do they urge the use of it as necessary, because it is not to be found in any part of Scripture. But the matter itself they explain thus: Christ abundantly satisfied that love which God bore towards justice, so as not only to render it POSSIBLE for Him, without any obstacle, to remit to us the punishment due to us for our sins, but likewise to render Him in the fullest sense WILLING,—but yet on this condition, 'that we cannot 'obtain this remission of sins which has been obtained for us and 'proposed to us, unless we betake ourselves by repentance and 'faith to an observance of the Divine commands.'

"(3.) While some persons affirm GRACE to be *irresistible,* and others that *there is none,* the Remonstrants, placing themselves on safer ground, neither deny grace, lest they should be injurious towards God,—nor describe it as irresistible, lest they should destroy every command to obedience: But they acknowledge it as a gift conferred most freely upon us by God,* which yet may

* The late Rev. Thomas Scott, having presented to the readers of his *Remarks on the Refutation of Calvinism,* a lame translation of a passage from Grotius, which the Bishop of Winchester had quoted, appends to it the following animadversion: "In respect of GROTIUS, I would, once for all, say, that I consider "him as one of the most able and plausible, yet most decided, enemies of genuine "Christianity, that modern times have produced."—In Mr. Scott's vocabulary, "genuine Christianity" and "Calvinism" are terms synonimous, though with the latter system, which he warmly defended, it will afterwards be shewn, he had a very confused and imperfect acquaintance, especially with that modification of it which the Synod of Dort promulged. That he should account the learned and pious Grotius "a most able and decided enemy" to CALVINISM, will not appear wonderful when the reader is told, that the passage, upon which Mr. Scott animadverts, commences thus: "Incautious expressions produce dangerous consequences. After hearing or reading such words as these, *We are justified by faith alone without any works,* many persons continue in a course of sinning, and do not amend their lives, yet they promise themselves salvation," &c.

For the very same reason, the celebrated BUCER and MELANCTHON might, with equal injustice, be traduced, as two of the most plausible, yet decided, enemies of "*genuine* Christianity," if the followers of Calvin be allowed with their characteristic arrogance to apply exclusively to their own system this sacred title. For those two great men,—who, by their piety, prudence, and talents, contributed more than any of their cotemporaries to the success of the Reformation,—made dreadful havoc of some of Calvin's dogmas, as is apparent by the following extract from GROTII *Votum pro Pace Ecclesiastica:* "The honour and glory of all the

be used by man either in a good or in an evil manner, and, on account of this use or abuse of it, he may either be rewarded or punished according to his deserts.

righteousness which is found in Christians, return to God and Christ: For faith is the gift of God, through Christ; not of works, but of Him that calleth. And this is the seed of righteousness; but, in all seeds, their fruits are likewise reckoned. The facility with which this reconciliation is effected [between faith and its fruits], when metaphysical trifling and a mind averse to peace are discarded, is shewn by BUCER on the Second Psalm, not in the edition of Stephens, (which, like most of the books published at Geneva, is evidently corrupt and vitiated,) but in that printed at Strasburgh: 'I cannot do otherwise than wish that certain persons were 'possessed of a sounder judgment, who have created much confusion among many 'people in these days by this paradox, *We are saved by faith alone;* when, at 'the same time, they have perceived this expression is wrested, as if they defined '*righteousness* solely by a mental estimation, and excluded good works. What 'charity is that which would disdain to apply a remedy to this evil? This might 'be done by declaring, *We are justified by a faith which is actually formed* '[within us]; or, *Through faith, we obtain a will for the performance of good* '*works, and also righteousness itself;* or, *Faith is the foundation and root of a* '*just life*, as St. Augustine has expressed himself. These truths ought to give no 'offence to any person.'—The Preface, which the same BUCER prefixed to his *Commentaries on the Four Evangelists*, is worthy of a perusal, although it is purposely omitted in the Genevan edition by Stephens. Melancthon likewise often complains, in his letters to Joachim Camerarius, 'that no objections were made 'against him, except *that he* [Melancthon] *was a little too diffuse in his praise* '*of* GOOD WORKS; and yet, that he uttered nothing which equalled the horrid 'sayings of others, but, on the contrary, such as were both true and useful.'

"To come to a man's *assurance of his future condition*,—St. Augustine, and others of the Fathers, deliver this doctrine, 'we may be assured of the REWARD 'which awaits us if we persevere; and this is a faith which is infallible. But we 'are not assured of our PERSEVERANCE itself: Yet the greater degree of profi-'ciency which any man makes in piety, excites within him stronger hopes, though 'not to the entire exclusion of fears.' But St. Augustine's words will not admit of such a reconciliation, as Rivet desires to produce; and that Father's meaning is rendered very manifest in several parts of his writings. In his 107th letter, addressed to Vitalis, he says: 'No man is certain [assured] of his predestination, 'unless a Divine Revelation on this point be made to a particular person. Rege-'neration, and faith united with charity, are not sure marks of predestination; 'because many of those who have possessed this faith and charity, and have been 'regenerated, not only fall away, but perish eternally. Some persons who have 'received the grace of Faith and Holiness, are delivered up to live here till they 'fall.'—In his treatise *on the Benefit of Perseverance*, St. Augustine says, 'Some 'regenerate persons persevere till their departure out of this life; others are detained 'in the present world till they fall.—To certain persons, whom God has regenerated 'in Christ, and on whom he has bestowed faith, hope, and love, He does give per-'severance.—Therefore, no man can be in a state of security, except when he has 'finished his course in the present life, which is a state of earthly trial.'—But, as Melancthon writes to Joachim Camerarius, it is no subject of wonder, 'that certain 'paradoxes have been fabricated in the Portico of ZENO, [the name by which he 'generally designated CALVIN,] of which St. AUGUSTINE is not properly the 'author.'"

These extracts from the Fourth Article in *the Wishes for the Peace of the Church*, (which was one of the last works written by Grotius,) when connected with the fine commencement of that Article, descriptive of the peace and joy enjoyed by those whose sins are forgiven, will exhibit the evangelical views which that great man entertained, and which are partially elucidated in other parts of

"(4.) Besides, while some persons wish unduly to extol the MERITS OF GOOD WORKS, as if of themselves such worthiness belonged to them, as renders it impossible for eternal life to be justly denied to those who perform them; and while, on the contrary, others depress them so much as to suppose, that they have nothing in them to obtain from God a life of eternal blessedness: The Remonstrants do not deny it to be impossible for good works to obtain life eternal, but they affirm that this is the act of the grace of God, or rather, that life eternal is a consequence of good works through the gracious promise of God. For this reason, the scriptures declare, in more passages than one, (Heb. vi, 10; 2 Thess. i, 4—11.) that immortality is bestowed upon us through justice.

"(5.) When a similar discussion arose respecting THE PERSEVERANCE OF FAITH, some men affirmed, 'that we have no assurance of it in this life,' and others described it as 'an absolute certainty bestowed on every man who is a believer.' But the Remonstrants, assenting neither to the former nor to the latter, prudently judged it possible for every believer to determine with

this volume. It would not be difficult to produce passages, from other parts of his Works, as highly evangelical as any of those which his accusers have composed in their happiest moments. But the real grievance lies in this—Grotius refers every doctrine to practical purposes. In this extract, he does not discard the doctrine of ASSURANCE, but adapts it to a believer's PRESENT EXPERIENCE, and his actual condition at every moment of his Christian career. This Apostolical mode of applying the gracious attestations of the Holy Spirit has always been a high offence to the Calvinists, who complain, that, instead of remaining *perpetually alike*, spiritual consolations are thus rendered *variable* and dependent upon a Christian's humble and faithful walk with God. See page 139.

I adduce GROTIUS in this note, because he has been industriously, yet most unjustly, maligned by some of my countrymen, who were not Arminians, as "a man inimical to the grace of God." This reproach was first taken up against him, and has since been repeated, chiefly on account of some opinions contained in his *Annotations on the Epistles*, which were published in a very imperfect state about five years after his decease. After all the quibbling exceptions which the principal republican Calvinists (in 1654) made against the following account by Dr. Hammond, it remains historically true, and is, on every point, unimpeachable: "For the passages in his *Posthuma*, those especially on the Epistles, it is evident that they had never been formed by him or fitted for the public, but were put together by somebody else, after his death. Finding many things in his *Adversaria* thrown into paper books as he had at any time occasion, either from his reading of Scripture or others' writings, (it being ordinary for every man to note, not only what he approves, but what he dislikes, and what he thinks matter of farther consideration,) somebody else hath, as he thought fit, made a body of Annotations, and published them under his name."

From those posthumous passages alone, has each succeeding calumniator gleaned the frail proofs of the heterodoxy of Grotius, many of which receive the most satisfactory refutation in the two last of his accredited publications, which are peculiarly interesting to Britons, because they were written chiefly for the noble and disinterested purpose of inspiring pacific and loyal principles into the minds of the belligerent Calvinists in England and Scotland. See the succeeding pages 270—293, and 630.

certainty about himself,* that he is in a state of salvation, and also that he will remain in that state, since the grace of God will

* The evangelical sentiments on this subject, which Arminius entertained, are briefly recorded in a succeeding page, (143,) and the Tenets of his immediate followers may be seen in pages 138—150. They accommodated the strong testimony of the Spirit of God, which is implied in *the assurance of salvation*, to holy and practical purposes. "We acknowledge," say the Remonstrants, "that true believers, as such, are certain and fully persuaded concerning their "salvation; and that this certainty is unchangeable and invariable, as long as "true believers have a diligent regard to their duty."

The following extract from a letter which Episcopius addressed to Taurinus in 1642, contains the opinions of that great man, on other points connected with Assurance:

"1. No one doubts the possibility of a man being certain [assured] in this life of the remission of his sins, which had been committed prior to his conversion, although they may have been of the most grievous description.

"2. It is usual to dispute the possibility of a man, in this life, being assured, at least *with the same degree of certainty*, of the remission of those sins, even of the most grievous of them, which have been committed since his conversion: And perhaps it is better for this question to remain a matter of controversy, than to be confidently decided; though I have never yet been able to perceive any reason sufficiently weighty, to induce me to deny the possibility of this certainty. But, however this may be decided, a Christian cannot lawfully doubt that it is possible for him to be assured of the remission of his lighter offences, of those which Tertullian calls 'sins of daily occurrence.'

"3. It is possible for a man to obtain this assurance, (1.) from the certain knowledge of the Divine rule, or of that will according to which God declares himself to be willing to pardon sins; (2.) and from the consciousness of his own spirit well-approved before God, and of his actions which are regulated according to this rule. For '*if our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence toward God. And whatsoever we ask, we receive of Him, because we keep his commandments and do those things that are pleasing to his sight.*' (1 John iii, 22.)

"4. But the man who is assured with this certainty, is bound, notwithstanding, to pray all the days of his life, '*Forgive me my trespasses!*' by having respect to the trespasses which he committed before he became a believer and was converted; because God will not forgive them, unless the pardon of them be asked of Him to the very close of life. With regard to trespasses which are called 'offences' and 'slighter lapses of daily occurrence,' a believer is bound to pray every day for the pardon of them, if he have committed them, or if he perceive that they have been committed; though they are so frequent, various, and secret, that the man himself frequently either does not observe that he commits such trespasses, or does not remember that he has committed them, or neglects them after being committed: So that it is much the safer course to pray, with David: '*Who can understand his errors? Cleanse thou me from secret faults.*' (Psalm xix, 12.) Or to declare, with St. Paul: '*For I am conscious to myself of no one thing; yet am I not hereby justified: But He that judgeth me, is the Lord.*' (1 Cor. iv, 4.)

"5. No ABSOLUTE certainty [such as the Calvinists assert] concerning *the remission of sins* has place in this life, but only a CONDITIONAL certainty, which is two-fold.—FIRST. If I am such a character as, according to the Divine Command, I ought to be.—THEN. If I continue to be such a character, and therefore if I likewise daily pray to God for the forgiveness of all my trespasses, both those of a grievous kind perpetrated before my conversion, and those which are lighter offences and imprudently committed in my daily life or conversation. For the perpetration of grievous sins, which may daily occur in my life, cannot

never abandon him if he never desert it, which he hopes in God he will never do. Thus a middle course is excellently steered

possibly consist with a certainty and confidence of remission, although I may, every day and still more frequently, pray, *Forgive me my trespasses!*"

It was the CONDITIONALITY, to which Episcopius here alludes, that gave the greatest umbrage to the Calvinists. In another place I have given a short history of the variations in the Protestant and scriptural doctrine of *the Witness of the Spirit*, or *the Assurance of Salvation*. I am aware that many respectable divines, in our days, cannot endure the idea of the Holy Spirit having any share in the grace of Assurance, which they almost uniformly confound with the Unconditional Assurance of the Calvinists: They readily grant, that a Christian may and ought to enjoy the testimony of his own spirit concerning his uprightness and sincerity. I should be gratified to see some attempt made, by such divines, to reconcile these two passages of Scripture, '*The conscience* [of the Gentiles] *also bearing witness, and their thoughts the mean while accusing or else excusing one another.*' (Rom. ii, 15.) '*Our rejoicing is this,—the testimony of our consciences, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world.*' (2 Cor. i, 12.) The first of them refers to the Heathens, who are deprived of the light of Gospel; and I should be pleased to know in what respect the testimony of a christian's conscience excels that of a heathen's, if the powerful influence of the Holy Spirit be withheld from the former, which is the hypothesis of the divines to whom I have alluded.

In their earnest endeavours to avoid Fanaticism, these divines have adopted one of the chief principles of the Mystics. The latter argue, that, as God is a Being without passions or parts, every believer will display a greater degree of placidity or quietism the nearer approaches he makes towards Divine perfection; that virtue, being its own reward, must be loved for its own sake alone; and that, on this account, the passions, those gross instruments, ought to remain perfectly quiescent and not disturb the current of this disinterested love Divine. This is not the religion which the Bible teaches: Christianity is eminently a religion of motives,—of powerful motives addressed most skilfully by God himself to every passion in the human heart, as well as to the understanding. But these divines wish to make mankind believe, that spiritual influences and the grace of God exercise themselves solely in enlightening the intellect, without refining, elevating, or warming the affections, and diverting them into a purer channel: On this subject their Creed is well expressed by the Deistical poet:

> What conscience dictates *to be done*,
> Or warns me NOT TO DO,
> THIS teach me more than hell to shun,
> *That*, more than heav'n pursue.

This ill-defined faculty called "conscience," is, in their system, to achieve every thing,—to subdue all tumultuous passions, and to impel men to the performance of their duties,—without the direct and immediate aid of the Holy Spirit. Yet God, in his infinite wisdom, has been pleased to propound in various forms, "the avoiding of hell," and "the wish to gain heaven," as two grand motives addressed to the affections. Present peace, hope, joy and comfort, are also represented in Scripture as the immediate effects of the Holy Ghost: Therefore to ask and to expect his blessed influences on the human heart, cannot be unscriptural or displeasing to God, who has promised to bestow his Holy Spirit on those who ask him.

Perhaps the plain language of that famous old Puritan, Dr. RICHARD SIBBES, may afford some light on this subject: "After this, it pleaseth Christ by his Spirit to open *a door of hope*, to give some hints of mercy, to let in some beams

between Scylla and Charybdis, so as to threaten no harm or peril to pious souls, on the one hand by a listless security, or on the other by a headlong despair.

of love, and, withal, to raise up the soul, by a spirit of faith, to close with particular mercy opened and offered by the Spirit, whereby the soul sealeth to the truth of the promise: '*He that believeth, hath set to his seal that God is true.*' (John iii, 33.) God stoops to have his truth, power and goodness, ratified and confirmed by us; when we believe the promise of God in Christ, though it be by the help of the Spirit, we seal God's truth. And then God honoureth that sealing of ours by the sealing of his Spirit. '*After you believed, you were sealed,*' saith the Apostle; that is, the gracious love of Christ was further confirmed to them. He that believes in God, by believing, seals *that God is true;* and God honours that seal again, by sealing it to the day of redemption. *He that believeth, hath the witness in himself,* that grace promised belongeth to him; for he carries in his heart the counterpane of the promises. The Spirit not only revealeth Christ and the promises *in general*, but, in attending upon the ordinances, by a heavenly light the Spirit discovers to us our interest in particular, and saith to the soul, *God is thy salvation*, and enableth the soul to say, *I am God's. I am my Beloved's, and my Beloved is mine. Christ loved me, and gave himself for me.* Whence came this voice of St. Paul? It was the still voice of the Spirit of God, that, together with the general truth in the Gospel, discovered in particular Christ's love to him. It is not a *general* faith that will bring to heaven, but there is a *special* work of the Spirit, in the use of means, discovering and sealing the good-will of God to us, that He intends good unto us; and thereupon our hearts are persuaded to believe in God, and to love God as OUR GOD, and Christ as OUR CHRIST. Holy and good men, by this work of the Spirit, are distinguished—from *civil men*, by the work of holiness, which mere civil men have not at all, but despise;—from seeming good men, by the depth of that work, &c. A christian is God's, in a more peculiar manner than others: There is not only a witness of the Spirit *that God is his*, but the Spirit works in him an assent to take God again. There is a mutual appropriation. Where the Spirit seals, God appropriates. *God chooseth the righteous man to himself;* and we may know this appropriation by appropriating God again: *Whom have I in Heaven but Thee? And what have I in earth in comparison of thee?* There is no action that God works upon the soul, but there is a reflect action by the Spirit to God again. It is the office of the Spirit, as to work Faith and other Graces, so to reveal them to us. Every grace of God is a light of itself, coming from the Father of lights: And it is the property of light, not only to discover other things but itself too; and it is the office of the Spirit to give further light to this light, by shining upon his own grace in us. An excellent place for this is 1 Cor. ii, 12: '*We have received the Spirit that is of God, that we might know the things which are freely given to us of God.*' In the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every thing be confirmed: One witness is THE SPIRIT OF MAN, *which knows the things that are in man:* The other witness is THE SPIRIT OF GOD, *witnessing to our spirits that we are the children of God.* Here is light added to light, witness added to witness, the greater witness of THE SPIRIT to the less of our spirits: The Apostle joins them both together, (Rom. ix, 1.) '*My conscience bears me witness through the Holy Ghost.*' "

This passage from Dr. Sibbes contains much sound Theology, in which both the Arminians and the Calvinists of the old school could heartily agree; and it will serve to shew some modern divines, that the very testimony of a man's own spirit, which they are accustomed injuriously to oppose to that of God's Spirit, is wrought in the heart by the Blessed Comforter himself.

In SIBBES's "Fountain Sealed" are many other excellent sentiments, to

"(6.) Lastly. What shall I say in conclusion about the congregations of the Lutherans and Anabaptists? These people

which every Arminian, who knows the nature of the scriptural system he has espoused, can readily subscribe. To the commencement of the subjoined paragraph no evangelical Arminian will object, because it is cautiously expressed: "There is a distinction between men in God's eternal purpose; but that concerns not us to meddle with further, than to know it in general. God knoweth who are His, and who are not His: But in time the Holy Spirit distinguisheth, and ranks men as they were distinguished before all worlds, and as they shall be at the day of judgment. The beginning of that distinction which shall be afterwards, is in this life: A seal maketh the impression of an image. The prince's image useth to be in his seal: So is God's image in his, which destroyeth the old image and print that was in us before.—The work of sanctifying grace upon the heart is a seal. Whom the Spirit sanctifieth, He saveth. The Lord knoweth who are his: But how shall we know it? By this seal, *Let every one that nameth the name of* THE LORD, *depart from iniquity*, not only in heart and affection, but in conversation; and that shall be a seal of his Sonship to him. None are children of God by adoption, but those that are children also by regeneration: None are heirs of heaven, but they are newborn to it. This seal of sanctification leaves upon the soul the likeness of Jesus Christ, even *grace for grace*.—This love the Spirit teaches the heart; and love teaches us not only our duty, but to do it in a loving and acceptable manner. It carries out the whole stream of the soul with it; and rules all, whilst it rules, and will not suffer the soul to divert to by-things, much less to contrary. The graces that are conversant about that condition of which the Spirit assureth us, as Faith and Hope, are purging and purifying graces, working a suitableness in the soul to the things believed and hoped for: And the excellency of the things believed and hoped for, hath such an effect upon the soul, that it will not suffer the soul to defile itself. Our hopes on high will lead us to ways on high; therefore whilst these graces are exercised about these objects, the soul cannot but be in a pleasing frame."

An Arminian ought to object to some of the following sentences, because it must be his wish to see the humble relentings, and the subsequent reconciliation, of a contrite spirit, described with greater accuracy: "But oft it falls out, that our own spirits, though sanctified, cannot stand against a subtle temptation strongly enforced: God therefore super-adds his own Spirit. Guilt often prevails over the testimony of blood; that of water, by reason of stirring corruptions, runneth troubled: Therefore the third, the immediate testimony of THE SPIRIT, is necessary to witness the Father's love to us, to us in particular, saying, '*I am thy salvation: Thy sins are pardoned!*' And this testimony the Word echoeth unto, and the heart is stirred up and comforted with joy unexpressible: So that both our spirits and consciences, and the Spirit of Christ, JOINING IN ONE, strongly witness our condition in grace *that we are the sons of God*."

It is also on such points of Assurance as the following, that an Arminian is at issue with a Calvinist. "Sometimes after this sealing," says Dr. Sibbes, "there may be interrupting of comfortable communion, so far as to question our condition. Yet this calling into question comes not from the Spirit, which, where it once witnesseth for us, never witnesseth against us: But it is a fruit of the flesh not fully subdued; it is a sin itself, and usually a fruit of some former sin."—Now, an Arminian believes, that, if this "interrupting of comfortable communion" proceeds from a sinful act, on the part of a believer, by such an act he has unchristianized himself. What then is the work of the Holy Spirit? Having "once witnessed for" the man, will He "never witness against him?" Just the contrary: For Christ says, "When the Comforter is come, He will reprove [or *convince*] the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment." The

have divided and are now dividing the Church into parties, on account of the right understanding or practice of one ceremony or another. Though at the same time they contribute nothing by such efforts towards the promotion of solid piety, either by instilling it with more efficacy, or by establishing it with greater firmness; on the contrary, they injure religion the more by their too pertinacious contests about their own opinions. Though the observance of ceremonies must, as far as possible, be accurately retained, because they have been prescribed by God; yet they are the *shadows* and *representations* of the inward probity of the soul, rather than the effecters of it by their own nature, or, as the

man, who by his own sinful act has disinfranchised himself, must therefore always experience this "reproving" or convincing influence before he can hope to find the Holy Spirit approach him as THE COMFORTER. An Arminian also trembles at that fearful declaration of the Lord of Hosts: "My Spirit shall not always strive with man." From the solemn exhortations, in the New Testament, *neither to grieve nor to quench the Spirit*, he acknowledges the solemn import of this passage: "Now the just shall live by faith: But if any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him." (Heb. x, 38.) On those who believe in the possibility of a man "drawing back" from the good and right ways of the Lord, such texts must have a proper deterring effect; but they are lost on others, who consider a falling away from grace to be impossible. But the language which the Doctor here employs, is only another version of the soothing Calvinistic axiom, "*Once* in grace, *always* in grace!"

For the same reason, the phraseology of the following sentence is exceedingly reprehensible: "Sometimes God leads his children to heaven through some foul way, by which he lets them see what need they have of washing by the blood and Spirit of Christ; which, otherwise, perhaps they would not so much value: When they grieve the Spirit, and the Spirit thereupon grieves them, and that grief proves medicinal; the grief which sin breeds, consumes the sin that bred it."

God never leads his children through any foul way: On the contrary, all his exhortations direct them to the way of holiness. His children indeed sometimes sinfully run into a way which is displeasing to his purity: They cry to Him out of the deeps, into which their sins have plunged them. God hears their cry: In great mercy he brings them up out of an horrible pit, out of the miry clay, sets their feet upon a rock, and establishes their goings. (Psalm xl, 2.) To assert, therefore, in opposition to the uniform tenour of Scripture, "that God *leads* his children to heaven through some foul way," is to make God at once the Author of sin, and affords an alarming inlet to all the desecrating deductions of Antinomians. How different is the fine description which Isaiah gives, (xxxv, 8,) of the way to heaven by the Gospel! "And a highway shall be there, and a way; and it shall be called THE WAY OF HOLINESS; *the unclean shall not pass over it;* but it shall be for those: The wayfaring men, though fools, shall not err therein." The holy provisions of the Gospel for the salvation of man are entirely of this sanctifying character; and God is not so deficient in means for effecting the purification of his people, as to require the aid of sin for its own destruction.

These brief animadversions on the words of Dr. Sibbes, in the substance of which that pious divine had the concurrent testimony of his Puritan brethren, will shew the point of difference between the Arminian and the Calvinistic signification given to "the Assurance of salvation:" While in the former sense it is applied solely as a Divine evidence of a christian's *present experience*, in the latter it is presumed to be an evidence of *absolute election and continued perseverance.*

expression is, by means of *opus operatum*. We must never be so foolish, as to place the principal part of our religion in external rites; because God desires now to be worshipped in spirit and truth, and is most urgent concerning the cleansing of the heart. But charity herself is lost, while such long disputes are maintained about the bond of charity; and purity of soul is disturbed and violated, while contests without end are indulged about the baptism of water. It was a declaration of the prophets, which has often been repeated, and must now again be inculcated, *I will have mercy and not sacrifice*. But a principal part of mercy consists, in not injuring or disturbing those who are in error, but in nourishing them in the bosom of the Church, that they may by this method become better instructed. Knowing, therefore, that *the kingdom of God consists not of meat and drink, but of righteousness and peace*,—and that *we are saved in baptism, not by the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but by the answer of a good conscience towards God*,—we Remonstrants recommend, offer, and exercise CHRISTIAN LIBERTY in no matters more readily than in external rites, if we are not able to persuade other people to embrace our sentiments on this subject which we defend as true."

II.—THE DESIGN OF THIS WORK,

THESE extracts display with tolerable fidelity the real bearings of Arminianism: It now remains that I render to the public some account of the origin and progress of this production. Upwards of two years ago, I had nearly completed a translation of the First Volume of *the Works of Arminius*, which also comprises a Memoir of his Life and Writings, more ample than any that had been previously published either in English or Latin. It was my desire to derive from his private letters and other authentic sources of information, the rise and gracious aspect of his doctrines, and the workings of his ingenuous mind while weighing in the balances of the sanctuary the apparently opposite propositions to which I have already alluded, (p. xi.) and I wished to publish these, with a brief account of his learned Dutch cotemporaries and the spread of his principles in foreign countries. My design, however, I soon found, was too comprehensive to be executed in an adequate manner in one volume. Of English Arminianism, respecting the commencement of which the greatest misrepresentations have prevailed, I could give no account: And as I was desirous of presenting to the public a Syllabus of the doctrines of the Dutch Remonstrants who succeeded Arminius, I resolved to reprint Bishop WOMACK'S *Examination of Tilenus before the Triers*.

The close of that pamphlet contains an excellent English translation of *the Tenets of the Remonstrants*, which were presented to the Synod of Dort, and to which the pious Bishop has added

some scriptural proofs and valuable comments. When I had nearly printed the whole of the Tenets, I obtained possession of a copy of MOSHEIM'S *History of the Synod of Dort by John Hales,* which I had not seen when I wrote the notes to Arminius. The perusal of that very interesting volume offered me the first excuse for increasing the size of this work. For I found that the learned and amiable ecclesiastical historian had adopted the same mode as I had done, of ascertaining the sentiments and proceedings of the Dort Synodists, by a careful attention to the garbled accounts given in their own ACTS, and by comparing those accounts with the despatches which HALES and BALCANQUAL transmitted, generally every week, to the English Ambassador at the Hague, and with other Calvinistic, yet tolerably impartial, documents. That there should be a degree of similarity between his deductions and mine, was not wonderful, since both had pursued one course; but the points of coincidence with regard to sentiment and language were so numerous and striking, as to induce me to translate some of his remarks, which, while they elucidated Bishop Womack's pamphlet, confirmed the view I had given, in the work just cited, of that Calvinistic Convention.

This was the first temptation which I felt to augment the size of the publication. But in translating, for the *benefit* of the mere English reader,* the Latin Theses of Parker, which Bishop Womack had appended to the conclusion of his pamphlet, and had enriched with his own able annotations, another temptation presented itself. I had been long acquainted with the secret history of those Theses, and had often smiled at the eulogies bestowed upon them by some Predestinarian writers,† who must have had an uncommon grasp of intellect, if they could collect from Parker's barbarous language the exact opinions which it was his purpose to convey. These Theses constituted in reality an additional futile attempt to modify Calvinism, so as to conceal under the harshest and most recondite terms of scholastic jargon, its objectionable and half-discarded dogmas. In introducing them to the notice of the reader, the editor, who gives us the initials

* I know, that, by this attempt at translation, I shall be liable to the just remark of Bishop Womack: (page 194:) "The reason why these Theses yet "remain untranslated, is this,—no man could, in my opinion, render them into "English so as to be grasped by the comprehension of mortals, or could himself "understand them when translated." If, therefore, the reader cannot understand the translation, the cause of his mental failure must be ascribed to the Theses, and not to himself.

† RICHARD BAXTER, in his *Saints' Rest,* (Pt. i, c. 8,) when describing "the people of God," speaks in the following fulsome manner of PARKER'S Theses: "They that would see this *work of God on the soul* handled most "exactly, judiciously, scholastically, and briefly, let them read Mr. Parker's "excellent *Theses de Traductione Peccatoris ad Vitam.* If you cannot get the "book, it is in the end of Amesius against Grevinchovius, but maimed of fifteen "Theses left out."

of his name H. S., has extolled them as "entirely studded with gems," and has described, in the language of hyperbole, the reputed victories achieved by various Calvinistic authors over their *supine* Arminian adversaries. His mention of these individuals of different denominations, suggested to me the first idea of illustrating the history of Arminianism during the interesting period between 1600 and 1662, by brief memoirs of six or seven of the principal Calvinists whose names are cited in the Preface to PARKER's *Theses*, and by elucidatory extracts from their productions, and from those of their learned cotemporaries in various parts of Europe.

In Appendix A, therefore, I have given some account of MACCOVIUS, who with the younger Parker was joint author of the Theses; and in B, have corroborated one of the Prefacer's most judicious hints.

In Appendix C, the reader will find a biographical notice of John CAMERO, and a description of the system of religious doctrines of which he was the author, and which is commonly known in England under the term BAXTERIANISM. The extracts which I have given from the letters and pamphlets of Grotius, Courcelles, Du Moulin, Rivet, Amyraut, Poelenburgh, and others, furnish a fair history of the nature of this system and its progress. A long note, in page 714, affords a still clearer view of its consequences. I have reserved some valuable observations from Episcopius, for insertion in "WOMACK's *Calvinists' Cabinet Unlocked.*"—As Camero received his death-blow from one of the furious zealots, who, in those days, had begun to manifest a spirit of insubordination in almost every State throughout Europe, in which Calvinistic churches were planted; I have in a summary manner exposed the origin of that spirit, and have traced it from the Genevan Fathers down to the æra immediately previous to the memorable Synod of Dort.

In Appendix D, I have more minutely marked the spread of the same restless and revolutionary spirit, in a biographical account of Dr. William TWISSE, the famous Moderator *of the Assembly of Divines* at Westminster. The contents of that Appendix, which occupies nearly three-fourths of the present volume, (in two parts,) I shall specify in a separate article. But, as the conclusion of Appendix D is inserted in the commencement of the second volume, part of which is already printed off, I proceed to the enumeration of the particulars it embraces. An entire and interesting chapter on Cromwell's "Triers and Ejectors," from JACKSON's *Life of Goodwin*, occupies the first place in the second volume, and is succeeded by the Rev. Tobias Conyers's celebrated dedication, to the Protector, of his English version of "the Declaration" of Arminius. The state of society and of public morals, at the beginning and the termination of the Civil Wars, is afterwards exhibited from various unexceptionable

authorities; and I think I shall have irrefragably proved, to all impartial persons, that, after Calvinism had exerted its influence uncontrolled under almost every varying form among the inhabitants of Great Britain, public morals were in a worse condition a year prior to the Restoration, than they were in 1637.*

Appendix E will contain a short Life of Thomas PARKER, the young man, who, when these Theses were subjects of reprehension in the Synod of Dort, was charged with having been the author of them, and who thus very conveniently removed a great portion of blame from Maccovius.

In Appendix F, I shall expose the ignorance of those who are accustomed to class Arminianism with Socinianism, and shall prove the far more numerous points of agreement between Calvinism and Socinianism. Among modern Calvinistic writers, I have met with no one that has so frequently and unjustly preferred this unsupported accusation, as the late Rev. Thomas Scott. I shall therefore present the reader in that place with a few animadversions on his inconsiderate expressions.

I shall devote Appendix G to the Life of Robert PARKER, the father of Thomas; and Appendix H to that of AMES and of ROBINSON. These three biographical sketches will afford me an opportunity of communicating some rather novel information on the rise and character of Independency, the very slender grounds of the Puritans' objections against the ceremonies and ritual of the Established Church, and the nature of the persecution which "the unconformable clergy" were compelled to endure.† The

* This is ingenuously confessed by many of the Preachers before the Long Parliament, as will be shewn in a subsequent part of this Introduction.

In WILLIAM BRIDGE's Sermon before the Commons, Nov. 5, 1647, he said: "And now of late, what bitterness of spirit among professors! What divisions, oppressions instead of justice! What new-fangled prides? What unwillingness to be reformed? Time was heretofore when we did call for Truth, and cried aloud for Truth. Oh that we might know the Truth! But now we deal by Truth, as the Friar said the people did by their Holy Water: 'Ye call and cry,' said he, 'for Holy Water; but when the Sexton sprinkles it, 'ye turn away your faces and it falls on your backs!' So the times were heretofore, that we called and cried out for Truth, Truth! It is now come unto you: We would sprinkle it upon you; but ye turn away your faces from it, and it falls on your backs.

"And is there not as much swearing, drunkennesss, profaneness still as before? I read of a street in Rome, called *Vicus Sobrius*, 'the sober street,' because there was never an ale-house to be found in it: And, upon this account, I think, there will be never a sober street in England, or very rare.

"As for the precious ordinances of Jesus Christ, [they were] never so slighted and rejected as now. Nevertheless, the Lord hath saved us: Yea, he hath saved us with a great salvation, I may say, *a miraculous salvation!*"

Thus, when Calvinism, in all its variations, had been indulged with unbounded sway for seven years, the state of society was not amended, and the people shewed their strong aversion to the Predestinarian rigours.

† The subjoined paragraph commences with a quotation from AMES, which will prove, that the early Puritans, as well as their successors who flourished

account of AMES will also furnish me with an occasion of instituting a comparison between the arbitrary measures of Archbishop ABBOT, and those of his great but ill-fated successor Archbishop LAUD: When, notwithstanding the popular yet ill-founded prejudices against the latter, I shall adduce proofs sufficient to convince every equitable man, that Laud excelled his predecessor both in the liberality of his sentiments, and in the actual execution of his measures.*

during the Civil Wars, had no just notions whatever either of *civil* or *religious* liberty, in the modern acceptation of these terms. The only Toleration which they acknowledged, was *the law of retaliation;* and the axiom, by which they regulated their conduct towards those who differed from them on any doctrinal or ceremonial point, was that of *Kill, or be killed!*

OBADIAH SEDGWICK, in his sermon before the Commons, on the same day and from the same chapter as Hussey's in a subsequent page, says to the members of the Honourable House: "It was but the scornful speech of Tiberius, 'that the Gods alone must remedy the injuries offered unto them.' O no! You are *custodes utriusque tabulæ.* You are designed to be nursing-fathers: You have received the sword, to be a terror to the evil. Pious and and learned Amesius, (*Cases of Conscience*, l. 4, c. 4,) speaking to that question, '*Whether Heretics are to be punished by the Civil Magistrate?*,' answers thus: 'It is his place and duty to repress them and restrain them, if they be 'noxious and turbulent.' Yea, and he adds more than every one will be patient to hear, namely, 'that, if also they be manifestly blasphemous and pertinacious, 'they may be cut off *supplicio capitali*, [by capital punishment,] according to 'that in Leviticus, xxiv, 16.' "—The passage to which Ames refers, is the following: '*And he that blasphemeth the name of the Lord, he shall surely be put to death, and all the congregation shall certainly stone him: As well the stranger, as he that is born in the land, when he blasphemeth the name of the* LORD, *shall he be put to death.*' Obadiah then specifies "nine ways," by which "the dangerous flood" of heresies might be stopped. In the *third* of them he says, "If the discipline [of the Presbytery] were fully and generally established, you should not have a heresy, or blasphemy, or any erroneous opinion, creeping out in any part of the kingdom, but there would be a timely discovery of it, and likewise a spiritual remedy to recover erring persons, and to prevent their further spreading." The *ninth way* is, "By using your co-ercive power, with such methods and proportions as the real safety of truth and souls doth require, and the repression of dangerous errors doth need: So managing the distributions thereof, that, under the notion of restraining heresy, you by no means injure real sanctity, nor yet, under the pretence of sanctity, you do not favour the growth of heresy."

* Perhaps the following passage from LOUIS DU MOULIN'S "*Appeal of all the Nonconformists in England to God, and all the Protestants of Europe, in order to manifest their sincerity to God and the King*," in 1680, will serve as an explanation of this matter: "The Assembly of Divines in Westminster, "chosen by the Parliament, were all CONFORMISTS, and none of them SI-"LENCED MINISTERS, except eight or nine, and four Scots."—This, unlike many of that rash man's assertions, is almost correct, and corroborated nearly *verbatim* by RICHARD BAXTER, in the First Part of his *Nonconformists' Plea;* in which work he also describes "the Houses of Lords and Commons, excepting "an inconsiderable number, the Lord Lieutenants whom the Parliament chose, "and the far greater part of the General Officers, &c., of the Earl of Essex his "army, and of the sea-captains," &c., as consisting of "those that had still lived in Conformity." The fallacy of these remarks will be exposed in another part of this Introduction, by the difference between 1640 and 1643. Now, to

Appendices I and K will not occupy much space,—the former consisting solely of a short account of Parker's Theses,—and the latter of a few remarks on the deficiency of learning in the vaunting Prefacer.

Appendix L will be very long: After alluding to Arminius, Corvinus, and Tilenus, it will embrace many curious particulars concerning the origin, the genius, the progress, and the effects of Arminianism in Holland and Great Britain. The decidedly Arminian complexion of the Articles of the Church of England, will also be summarily described, in valuable quotations from a few of our best divines. Among some of the conclusions, which I shall endeavour to deduce from undisputed historic facts, i be the very important one,—that the adherents to all the religious systems which have passed the golden mean maintained by Arminianism, (between Baxterianism and Calvinism on the one hand, and between Semi-pelagianism and Pelagianism on the other,) have fallen into errors on the important doctrine of the TRINITY, while those who have adhered to the evangelical Arminian scheme, as propounded by its founder, have retained all the grand verities which distinguish the ORTHODOX both among the Ancients and the Moderns.

In Appendix M, the doctrine of SCIENTIA MEDIA will be compendiously exhibited; and, in N, Bishop Womack's remarks on the absurdity of several metaphysical reveries about Christian doctrines will be strenuously enforced.

These are the subjects which were suggested by a perusal of the Preface to Parker's Theses, and of Bishop Womack's annotations; and this is the outline of the plan, according to which I have attempted *to institute a comparison between* CALVINISM *and* ARMINIANISM, and to *demonstrate the favourable bearing which the* LATTER SYSTEM *has had upon the civil and religious liberties of mankind.*

evince Archbishop Laud's superior moderation, I only require any man, who is acquainted with the general history of that period, to peruse the list of the far-famed *Assembly of Divines*, and then deliberately to declare if, at any former period, such pragmatical Divines, as three-fourths of the members had then proved themselves to be, would have been permitted to be *unsilenced ministers*. Under none of Laud's predecessors, even those of them who were most Calvinistically inclined, would the majority of those who afterwards composed *the Predestinarian Assembly* have been allowed to remain in the circumstances described by Du Moulin; on account of their previous mal-practices, they would either have been suspended or banished. That restless old Nonconformist, Cartwright, in the days of Archbishop Whtigift, was a petty offender against the ecclesiastical laws of the realm, when compared with many of these disaffected though "conformable" individuals. With the exception of two or three members, the Divines summoned to the Assembly were Calvinists; and, at the very commencement of the Civil Troubles, arranged themselves either in the ranks of Presbyterianism or Independency. (See page 400.) Of the few very able Episcopal Clergy, who were nominated to that office, Archbishop Usher, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Gauden, and other worthies, had not then become Arminians.

III.—DESCRIPTION OF THE PURITANS UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH.

Before I proceed to an enumeration of the contents of Appendix D, which occupy the greater part of this volume, I will present the reader with a brief description of the race of men upon whose doctrines and practices I have ventured to animadvert. The term Puritans is applied to those individuals who, during eighty years, dissented either *mentally* or *practically* from the rites and institutions of the Episcopal Church of England as established by law. But this extensive application of the name is rather inaccurate, on account of the complex nature of the scruples under which different classes of these Dissidents laboured. Some account of the *early Puritans* will occur in the second volume. That class of them who, soon after the Restoration, refused, on grounds somewhat novel, to unite with the National Church, and received the appellation of "Nonconformists," I do not pretend to describe. But my remarks are directed against those Predestinarian divines who, under a pretence of bringing the Church of England to a greater conformity wih the admired platform of Calvin, overturned both Church and State, Episcopacy and Monarchy.

They were a race of the Puritans entirely *sui generis*, distinct from their predecessors; for, with the exception of the Scotch Presbyterians, these reforming Christians commenced offensive operations, not as *seceders from the Church*, but as *Calvinists*. In a preceding note, (p. xliii,) it has been shewn how boldly two men, of the rival Predestinarian sects of *Independents* and *Presbyterians*, could each boast, that the divines who first engaged in that seditious enterprise were conformable Episcopalians. The fact was in substance as they have related it, and I place it to the benefit of Archbishop Laud's character, who suffered such artful Nonconformists so long to shelter themselves under the wings of Conformity: Had he exercised those inquisitorial powers with which, it is allowed by all parties, he was then invested, he would have previously ferreted all those concealed Nonconformists out of their fastnesses, and would have compelled them to appear in their real colours. But the persons "with whom he had to do," were full of artifice and design. In all European countries, wherever the *doctrines* of Calvin obtained countenance and support, they were invariably accompanied by a love for the platform of his ecclesiastical *discipline*, which was extolled by his zealous adherents as *the sole means of rendering his evangelical doctrines fruitful and prosperous*. Such encouragement had doctrinal Calvinism received in England under the injudicious administration of Archbishop Abbot; and a secret relish for "the holy discipline of Geneva" was consequently created. When, therefore, under the circumstances related in the succeeding pages,

(242—357,) the Scots, who had embraced Calvinism both in its doctrine and discipline, made a hostile irruption into England, they found their Predestinarian friends "on this side the Tweed" prepared to give them a welcome reception. In the subsequent warm work of Reformation, the English Calvinists, though almost universally *nominal Conformists,* had little to sacrifice in renouncing Episcopacy and in ranging themselves, according to their several inclinations or opportunities, under the banners of Independency and Presbyterianism. From the eventful year of 1640, EPISCOPACY became the test by which to ascertain *Arminians* and *Calvinists,*—the former, with scarcely a single exception, adhering to "their Bishops and their King,"—and the latter deserting both, and arming themselves against their lawful authority. A few Calvinists, very few indeed, also adhered to Episcopacy and Monarchy; but a favourable change in their doctrinal sentiments was generally the consequence of this laudable attachment, and they became followers either of Camero or of Arminius: An instance of this salutary alteration of principle will be found (page 707) in good Bishop Hall, who begun at length to think, that even the Arminians could not be "righteous over much,"—a crime with which he had foolishly charged them in his remarkable sermon before the Synod of Dort. Thus did Episcopacy continue to divide Calvinists from Arminians during the twenty years of Predestinarian misrule, till in the year 1662 it was constituted, accidentally and not by design, a more efficient test of those who professed the doctrines of *Particular* or of *General* Redemption. (See page 788.) The rigid Calvinists then almost unanimously became Nonconformists; and the more moderate Predestinarians, with nearly all the Arminians, took refuge under Episcopacy.

This view of the English Calvinists or Puritans, the only one historically correct, is commonly ill-received by their admirers; and I have frequently read, in other authors, such *ex-parte* and palliative sentences as the following by the Rev. Thomas Scott: "Among those who adhered to the royal party and to the Estab-"lished Church in her abject state, even the faults and successes "of the Puritans, Presbyterians, and Independents, were argu-"ments, (and indeed they still are so,) against Calvinism: So "that, without studying the subject, they became more and "more Anti-calvinistic, by a sort of heart-revolting* against

* The Divines described by Mosheim, in a subsequent page, (790,) as converts to Arminianism during the inter-regnum, (among whom are numbered Archbishop Tillotson, Bishops Stillingfleet, Burnet, Pearson, Womack, Sanderson, &c., Drs. Cudworth, Pierce, and several others, the memory of whom is deservedly held in high estimation,) can by no means be said "not to have studied the subject:" Their works, on the contrary, prove their *very accurate acquaintance* with the contending principles of Arminius and Calvin.

That these eminent individuals, and hundreds besides of less consideration, were induced to change their religious principles by no secular interests what-

"principles, which, they erroneously supposed, had produced "these terrible effects. (I say *erroneously;* for, except among a "few honest but undiscerning men, and a company of wild "enthusiasts, religion, as to the leaders in these tragical scenes, "was merely the pretence: And if the nation had been divided "into zealots for Popery, and for Mohammedism, the designing "sagacious leaders would have known how to avail themselves of "their prejudices, and the event would have been nearly the "same; as the affairs of the late twenty years on the Continent "may evince. However that may be, at the Restoration a large "majority of the Clergy, who kept their stations in the Church, "or who succeeded to those which became vacant, were Anti-"Calvinistic, and have continued so to this day."

Several assertions in this paragraph require explanation. The "principles" of Calvinism are here said "to be *erroneously* supposed to have produced the terrible effects" of the Civil Wars, and the dreadful subversion of Church and State. In pages 210-20, I have shewn, in as brief and inoffensive manner as possible, the Genevan origin of these destructive principles, and how far Calvin, Beza, Paræus, Buchanan, and Knox were involved in this crimination. But the fairest and most unexceptionable method of deciding this matter will be, by the testimony of Milton, the defender of the Regicides. In his "*Tenure of Kings and Magistrates,*" published in the very year in which his Majesty was murdered, Milton defends that foul deed and the general proposition of *the right of the people against their tyrants,* by quotations from Calvin and his followers. This circumstance roused the indignation of the celebrated Alexander More, (better known by his Latin name Morus,) who had been educated at Geneva, and who, both as a Calvinist and as the son of a Scotchman, attempted in 1652 to wipe off the foul aspersion, in his *Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Cælum adversus Parricidas Anglicanos.* To this futile attempt Milton replied in 1654, by his *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio Secunda,* and unceremoniously decided that part of the controversy in the following manner: "I have at greater length

ever, but by "a sort of *heart-revolting* against principles which had produced these terrible effects,"—is not very wonderful: But the greatest matter of wonder is, that, in the warmth of their "heart-revolting," they did not recede still further from the principles of the Puritans, and run into the opposite extreme. Of those Divines whom I have designated by name, Burnet, Pearson, and Cudworth, retained all the least objectionable parts of their former system, and may be justly styled, "Evangelical Arminians."

The only correct sentence in the whole extract from the Rev. Thomas Scott, is the last, in which he properly says: "At the Restoration, a large majority "of the Clergy, who kept their stations in the Church, or who succeeded to those "which became vacant, were Anti-Calvinistic, and have continued so to this "day."—This is a fact, for which Mr. Scott is evidently at a loss to account, but which receives ample confirmation from the remarks in pages 738 and 803.

taught this doctrine, [*the rights of the People against their Tyrants,*] in that book which is entituled in our vernacular language, *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates.*—In that work, passages are quoted, even *verbatim*, from LUTHER,* ZUINGLIUS, CALVIN, BUCER, MARTYR, PARÆUS, and lastly from KNOX, 'whom,' you say, 'I 'indicate as a Scotchman, [*unum Scotum,*] and whom all the Cal- 'vinists of that age, and especially the Reformed in France, con- 'demned in that particular.' But, on the contrary, KNOX, as is there related, affirms, 'that he had derived the doctrine from 'CALVIN,' whom he specifies by name, 'and from others of the 'principal Divines of that age with whom he lived in habits of 'intimate friendship.'" Whatever may have been Milton's early prepossessions in favour of Calvinism, it is certain that he was cured of it during the Inter-regnum; and the forth-coming posthumous publication of this great man *on Religion* will probably teach us, more particularly, the mode of religious belief which he afterwards embraced. But he was too good a casuist not to know, that the rash and unscriptural sayings of the Genevan Fathers would reconcile many of their disciples, in Great Britain and on the Continent, to the infamous deed of the regicides; and, notwithstanding the partial and politic clamour raised in a few quarters by the Calvinists, the event proved Milton's artful mode of defence to have been exceedingly palatable to a vast majority of that party. A convincing evidence of this latter fact is seen in the restricted sale and confined circulation of the pamphlets published by Salmasius, Morus, and other loyal writers on the Continent.

Another of Mr. SCOTT's assertions is, that "except among a "few honest but undiscerning men and a company of wild enthu- "siasts, religion, as to the leaders in these tragical scenes, was "merely the pretence." In pages 729, 562—3, I have given expression to my own views of the character of this unchristian enterprize; and have shewn, (pp. 242-308,)that it was a general Calvinistic crusade against Arminianism and Episcopacy. Mr. Scott ought to have specified more particularly the persons whom he intended to comprise under this appellation, "the leaders in these tragical scenes;" for, on examination, it will be found, that the principal "leaders" were Calvinistic pastors. If a modern divine of their persuasion choose to call them, as Mr. Scott has here done, "a few *honest* but *undiscerning* men," I am afraid his epithets will not be relished by some of his better-informed Predestinarian brethren; because the charge of *want of discernment* will apply to such *champions in the cause,* as Simeon Ashe, Samuel Annesley, John Arrowsmith, Robert Baylie, Samuel Bolton, John

* Milton places LUTHER's name in the front of the Predestinarian supporters of his licentious doctrine. But though the great German Reformer was, early in life, sufficiently imprudent both as a politician and a divine, (p. 158,) yet, it will be seen, (p. 730,) that in his mature years his sentiments concerning *lawful resistance* were entirely changed.

Bond, Oliver Bowles, Thomas Brooks, C. and A. Burgess, Edmund Calamy, T. and W. Carter, Joseph Caryl, Francis Cheynel, John Conant, William Cradock, John Dury, George Gillespie, Thomas Goodwin, William Gouge, John Green, Alexander Henderson, William Jenkyns, John Lightfoot, Christopher Love, Thomas Manton, Stephen Marshall, Matthew Newcomen, John Owen, Herbert Palmer, Edward Reynolds, Samuel Rutherford, Henry Scudder, O. and W. Sedgwick, William Spurstowe, Edward Stanton, Peter Sterry, Francis Taylor, Thomas Thorowgood, Anthony Tuckney, Richard Vines, Thomas Watson, and John White. These are only a few of the very eminent and clever men, who, as Preachers before the Long Parliament, alternately encouraged the readiness and chided the tardiness of both Houses, in perfecting the Calvinistic "Reformation," and who are generally, and in most cases very justly, admired for other productions than their sermons before the reforming Senators. If to these, we add the many equally clever individuals whose Parliamentarian discourses were not sufficiently "heart-searching" to entitle them to the honour of publication, who were efficient members of the *Assembly of Divines*, or who employed their youthful talents in composing treatises to forward the grand design, we shall have a list of some of the greatest divines who have graced the Annals of Protestant Dissenters. Now, it would, in more senses than one, be too great an abuse of language to style these men "undiscerning;" for they possessed discernment enough to keep their own interests in sight, and to cry aloud whenever, in their apprehension, those interests were compromised or impugned. But though I should be afraid of calling them "undiscerning," I consider the epithet "honest," if applied without restriction to the whole of those whom I have specified by name, to be a still greater misnomer. The flexible principles and unjustifiable acts of some of them, during the twenty years of Calvinian misrule, have exposed their names to merited execration: Respecting such ministers of the gospel, the language which I have employed concerning one of their number, (p. 382,) will not, when all the facts are taken into consideration, appear unjust: "It was a happy circumstance, both for themselves and mankind, that they were soon afterwards compelled "to retire from public life, and had abundant leisure afforded "them of amending their ways; and that they were left to lay a "less exceptionable foundation for fame in the composition of "works of piety." Several of those productions of their mature years I have read with admiration, and to my great personal benefit; and so far am I from cherishing any personal pique against them or their subsequent labours, that I have frequently blessed God for having "put it into the heart of these His servants" to compose works of such sterling worth and importance.—But, after all this concession, I am persuaded, my readers will too soon be convinced, that the individuals whom Mr. Scott has

here designated "a few *honest* but *undiscerning* men" were in reality "a company of *wild enthusiasts*," and gloried in identifying themselves with "the leaders in these tragical scenes," with whom, he truly asserts, "religion was merely the pretence."

To afford every impartial man an opportunity of forming a correct judgment of the part taken at that period by various Calvinistic ministers of eminence, and of the degree of criminality which actually attaches to their principles and actions, I shall transcribe a few passages from their Sermons before the Long Parliament. Of those extraordinary productions, which are among the very best chronicles of that eventful æra, I possess nearly an unbroken series of original quarto editions—the form in which they were ordered by the two Houses to be printed:

1.—*The Puritan Ministers the grand Instigators of the Civil Wars.*

THE first extract, illustrative of the intimate connection between the Puritan ministers, and "the designing sagacious leaders," is from "honest John DURYE," who had for many years preceding been employed under the auspices and at the expence of Archbishop Laud, in trying to effect a general union among the Protestants of Europe. His sermon is entituled "Israel's call, to march out of Babylon unto Jerusalem," and was preached before the House of Commons, November 26, 1645. It is scarcely necessary to say, that Episcopacy, then in ruins, is the thing intended by the term BABYLON in the following sentences: "God hath, since the beginning of the Reformation of His church from Popery and anti-christian superstition, intended to bring his vessels out of Babylon unto Sion. The way hath been opened, by the preaching of the Gospel, a long while ago. The nations of Europe, some more, some less, frequently have begun their marches in several troops; and the spirits of many Magistrates and of many Ministers have been stirred up, and called upon to bear the vessels of the Lord, and, by their care, power, authority, assistance, and vigilancy, to bring them to Sion, there to be fully settled in the right use of the ordinances of God. But none of all the *Magistrates* or *Ministers* of other nations have ever given such an answer to this call, as YOU and WE OF THE MINISTRY and this people hath done: For WE ALL have undertaken the cause in the full extent thereof; therefore we are, in this employment, nearer unto God than any others; and he is more interested in you and in Scotland, than in any nation whatsoever. And if this be so, do not you think, that God will have a nearer respect unto you, than unto others; and that He doth expect a more exact performance of this charge from you, than from others? YOU, and WE ALL, have fastened the cause we have in hand upon Him; and, for this cause, we have no foundation to build on, but upon Him: And He hath none other employment for us, but that WE ALL should carry his vessels carefully out of Babylon. If you do this faith-

fully according to your promise, and make it your aim to fulfil your Covenant to this effect with Him, you may be sure that He will bear you up, and bear you out, in all your difficulties. But if you have any other aim, and do not make this your glory *that the vessels of the Lord are committed to your trust*,—if you cast them off in your heart, and think them a wearisome burden and heavy to be borne,—if, I say, any doth *but in his heart* quit the charge committed unto him, will not God require it at his hands?—The only way, then, for you to be supported by Him is this, that you be sure to support with all your heart and might his vessels: For, you must know, that it is *only for their sake* that you are and shall be *a sure nail fastened in the wall of this kingdom*; only, I say, for this end—that the vessels of your Lord's house, and the glory thereof may be hung upon you. But if you cannot be made use of by Him to this effect, though the nail be never so strong, and fastened in a place never so sure, it shall be broken and pulled down, *for the Lord hath spoken it!*"

My remaining extracts shall be confined to discourses delivered in the year 1646-7 when the Parliamentary interest was most flourishing, when their enemies were vanquished, and the King in the hands of the Army. The prosperous state of their affairs, and the deliberative as well as active employments of the Calvinistic Pastors, are well described in the dedication to the House of Commons, which Herbert PALMER prefixed to a sermon preached before them, September 30, 1646, and in which he says:

"THE REFORMATION OF ENGLAND is the great expectation of the *world*, I think I may say, of *Angels* as well as *men*; and the PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND, under God, is the great hope of the Christian world, to bring this reformation about. If any would set himself to study abstractly, how God might prepare a company of men to carry on such a work, he would not easily find out any thing, which God hath not already fitted the Honourable Houses with:—*Great pressures*, to help to make them humble before their meeting:—*Manifold dangers* all along from the beginning of their meeting, to help keep them humble:—*A mighty concurrence of providence*, to necessitate their meeting together:—And *an unparalleled over-ruling of hearts*, for their continuance together, without limitation of time, other than their own prudence should determine:—*A watchful eye and a strong hand*, to preserve them from all sorts of attempts to dissolve their meeting:—*Marvellous and manifold actings of God's Almighty power and rich grace*, in making their enemies fall before them, notwithstanding their frequent expectations and most probable hopes of swallowing them up suddenly; and in making the people every where to stoop to every part of reformation by them promoted, notwithstanding all their habituated and doted-on customs to the contrary:—*The most solemn engagements* to carry the work on for God, and accordingly to God, that are to be found upon earth or are directed by heaven:—*A*

spirit of reformation in the hearts of many thousands throughout the Kingdom, and more particularly near unto the place of their sitting, breathing out prayers and supplications to God for them day and night, with giving of thanks, that the reformation may prosper in their hands and be perfected by their hands:—And finally, *most frequent intercourses between God and them*, by his sending to them, (and even directing them to call to themselves,) his servants in great variety and frequency to pray with them daily, to fast and pray with them monthly, besides extraordinary days of humiliation, and to pray and give thanks with them upon extraordinary days of thanksgiving, and these extraordinary days both of the one and the other sort being not a few, put them all together; and upon all these public and solemn occasions, to speak to them, in the name of God, words of direction and encouragement; *and all this as a joint body together*, with the advantage of having every affecting sermon perpetuated to them, by printing such as they see cause, or approve; while in the mean time the several members have the opportunity of constant hearing from God *every Sabbath*, and many of them *every morning*:—And, with all this, to have *a selected number of men*, chosen by themselves to attend years together, merely upon *giving them advice about this reformation*:—May I not now say in the close of all, *what could have been done more for such a company of men*, to make them willing and able to do God's whole work for his Church and people, for a full and perfect reformation? And is not this your story, honourable and worthy? Is it not the manifest story of God's providence toward the Parliament of England? And what doth he now expect from you, or what may we expect further from Him? Surely from Him, for my part, I can expect no less but that his intents are (though yet through some further difficulties, perhaps,) to carry your spirits, and the spirits of the whole Parliament, strongly and powerfully on, to finish this so blessed a work. He hath pardon,* and grace, and wisdom, and strength enough to answer and overcome all that can be said or thought to the contrary; in this persuasion I have divers years lived, and I hope in it I shall die, if I must die before the work be perfected."

The activity of these ministers, and the delight which they felt in adverting to their pragmatical behaviour, will be apparent to every one, in the three extracts subjoined:

Thomas VALENTINE preached before the Commons, September 29, 1646, from Rev. iii, 18, *I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the*

* These men needed pardon from Heaven: But this method of applying the holy doctrines of Christianity, as *sacred unction*, to the consciences of men then openly engaged in rebellion against their Sovereign, was one great cause why evangelical piety, or true experimental religion, came afterwards into much disrepute, and was greatly neglected. This sad consequence, the reader will perceive, is adverted to and lamented in pages 296 and 304, as well as in other passages.

fire, that thou mayest be rich; and white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed, &c. In his "use" of the doctrine, he says: "Give me leave to make a further application to you that are the Great Council of the kingdom; and let me tell you, that the people of this land look for this pure gold and white raiment; and, to purchase them they have offered fair—their plate, their money, their horses, their servants, and their sons! They begin to fear they shall not have these commodities which they have bidden well for, because, in all this time, they had little else than ends of gold and silver. We will persuade them to wait longer, and to help you by their prayers, that you may become the happy instruments of the kingdom's good, in making the gold and raiment in the text as plentiful, as the material gold was in Solomon's time."

Thomas Case, in the sermon quoted page lxviii, describes the following, as some of the advantages which the Long Parliament possessed to execute the designs which he has there proposed: "A ministry neither ignorant, nor unfaithful, nor driving their own interests to serve you, to bring in the hearts of the people to you, which (till some taught otherwise) they did with such success, that your interest in the affections of the subjects was such, that you commanded their purses and their persons, their livelihoods and their lives, with as much freedom as ye did the wives of your bosoms or your hired servants. Oh that it were with you as in the days of old!"

In his Sermon before the Commons, August 26, 1646, Jeremiah Burroughes makes the following pertinent remarks concerning the early labours of himself and his Puritan brethren: "It is righteous, that those that are delinquents should be punished. What was the great title of our war, but 'the raising of the *Posse* 'Regni for the taking of delinquents, and bringing them to con-'dign punishment?' We made very much use of this argument continually, for the satisfying men in the justice of the war. If a judge in the country shall have the command of the *Posse Comitatûs* to fetch in delinquents that are rebellious, then the Parliament hath the power of the *Posse Regni*. Now then, if God hath given them into your hands, there will not appear that righteousness as heretofore was thought to be, if they escape without condign punishment."

2.—*The spirit of Railing with which the Puritans were infected, and the lurking Attachment of the People to Episcopacy.*

One of their own body, the Rev. William Jenkyn, "Minister of God's Word at Christ Church, London," has also well described that race of Puritans who overturned Church and State, in a sermon which he preached in the Abbey-church at Westminster, before the House of Peers, on the 27th of January, 1646. The Bishops had then been expelled from the Upper House, and in allusion to this event, the preacher informs their Lordships in his

Epistle Dedicatory: "The Lords spiritual (so called) grew too *temporal;* but the Lords temporal cannot be too *spiritual.* Temporal pragmaticalness ruined them; spiritual practices must uphold you. The power of Godliness is the only means to save your souls, and the best to silence your foes."—In the discourse itself he thus complains of "the insensibleness" of the Long Parliament: "Insensible we are of noises and stirring. How loud hath been the voice of the word in our ears, but how deaf have we been! Rare is the operation of the word in our congregation; *the bellows are burnt, the lead is consumed, and yet the founder melteth in vain.* (Jer. vi, 29.) Ministers are spent both in strength and numbers, and yet our lusts in neither: And, for the Parliament, it is a common observation, *that it is sermon-proof!* You command us to *preach* before you: Oh that God would command you to *practise* before us! You enjoin us to print: But it will be an unanswerable dilemma another day—*either the sermons you caused to be printed were good or bad:* If bad, why were they so much as printed. If good, why not more than printed and practised also?"—He then describes himself and brethren, in the following language: "Painful zealous ministers, that will tell us of our sins, are now looked upon as busy men, as those that meddle with the State: They are bid *to keep to their texts;** as if that preach-

* Some of the Puritans attended strictly to this advice: Thus, in his sermon before the House of Commons, January 27th, 1647, from Rev. xii, 1, 2:—"A woman clothed with the sun, &c. and she, being with child, cried, travailing in "birth, and pained to be delivered;"—Dr. John Arrowsmith kept well to his text, as the reader will perceive when he has perused that discourse.

Stephen Marshall, before the House of Lords, October 28, 1646, also kept well to his text, '*Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained* '*strength, because of thine enemies,*' &c. (Psalm viii, 2.) "I principally speak to your Lordships," said Stephen, "to take care that this magazine of the mouth, the powers that come out of the mouth of babes and sucklings may be preserved and recruited, and not any-ways disbanded. It is now a great dispute, among you that are wise statesmen, what we should do with our armies? Whether, there being no visible enemy in the field, it would not be fittest to disband our present armies? A dispute I have nothing to do with: But this I have to do with, and make bold to tell you, whatsoever you do with other armies, you must not disband the Forces of the Babes and Sucklings, out of whose mouth comes your strongest help. You are far from having your work done as yet: Ireland is in a sad condition; England is woefully unsettled: Terrible divisions are found every where. Look to it, that you have a force about you. What other Forces are needful, I leave to your wisdoms; but, sure I am, these Babes and Sucklings are the *Triarii*, the *Veterani*, the old soldiers, the life-guard of England. Disband them once, and you are lost.—Give all the assistance possible, that these soldiers may be encouraged and multiplied in all parts of the land: I mean, that the gospel may spread, the preaching of the gospel, that saints might be won, and that the church might be enlarged, be settled in peace, that there might be freedom to seek God, and to serve him according to his will; and know you for certain, that every soul which shall be won to Christ,—be it the soul of a woman, or of an old man that stoops for age, or of a child,—yet every soul won to Christ, and so numbered among these Babes and Sucklings, will be as stout a soldier as ever you did employ, and will, in your extremity, do more than all the experienced Captains that tread on English ground," &c.

ing which is a coming close up to your lusts, were a going away from our texts. In the Bishops' times we were suffered to preach any thing, so we came not near their sins: And this prelacy is still kept up among us. Hence it is that faithful ministers are denied their maintenance, are abused by the nick-names of *Anti-christian,* are voiced *enemies to the Parliament,* (are you and your lusts so near, that we cannot be enemies to one, but we must be enemies also to the other?) 'that they have changed their princi-'ples, that they are turned *Malignants:'* Whereas it is not the shore that moveth, but the boatman. The ministers are still the same men, and walk by the same rule,—still are for you, the Covenant, and a pure Reformation. The Lord will one day judge who they are that continue faithful and firm both to Him and you, and who are unfaithful to Him, to us, and to your-selves."

In one of the most judicious sermons* preached before the House of Peers, on May the 26th, 1647, by the Rev. William Hussey,

* I call this "one of the most judicious sermons preached before the house of Peers." Two or three extracts will corroborate my favourable judgment of it: Their Lordships were then dwindling fast in public estimation; and the King, though a prisoner, was in treaty with his rebellious subjects. Instead of insulting fallen Majesty, and exciting the rage of the populace against the King, as was the practice of many of his co-pastors, Hussey made the following remarks: "I cannot but confess, these times have involved your Lordships in very great difficulties: But the greatest difficulty is, to amend yourselves. If you could but give testimony to the world, that you see yourselves, (partly by the fault of your ancestors, and partly by your own,) disabled from doing your country that service which the duties of your places do require, and that you earnestly desire a reformation of yourselves; if you could but undertake the principal duty of your places, *to be reconcilers of the King and people,* and propose such terms of agreement as may be fit for Prince and people to receive, God would certainly assist you. You ought to deal plainly with King and people. Where you find the fault, lay the blame. Press the King to his duty, and the people to theirs. Let your propositions be legal, reasonable, and wholesome for the State. God and good men will not leave such endeavours without comfort and success. You ought not to join with the King against the Commons, nor with the Commons against the King; but carry the balance of justice so justly and friendly between them, that they may join in friendship one with another. You are trusted with the honour of the Crown, the justice of the people, the setting up the honour of Christ's kingdom: Ye must not suffer any of these to sink."

Speaking in favour of a better maintenance for himself and his Puritan brethren, Hussey says: "There was great pretence of *honour done to the Clergy,* in the Court of England. Were the Bishops so much honoured at Court, that Christ might be honoured in them, that religion might be advanced by them? No such matter, but that they might be popular orators to draw over the people to put on the yoke of slavery, and that hath drawn so much envy of the people on them. The principle, notwithstanding, that was pretended, was a good principle—*that he who laboured in the word and doctrine, is worthy of double honour.* (1. Tim. v. 17.) But the honour must be joined to the work, that the work may be done. Certainly it is the duty of Christian Kings and Princes, to use all means that come to their hands to encourage the choice of men for parts and education to become ministers, to make such public provision for ministers that men may by that obtain more honour, more maintenance by it, than by any other

Minister at Chiselhurst, in Kent, the following observations are made, by a professed adversary, in behalf of the Bishops who had

public profession.—So that Kings and States cannot receive the Gospel, unless they honour the messengers of Christ, according to the command of Christ; not as beggars and private men give honour with cap and knee, but with honourable maintenance; and command that honour be given them from private subjects."—He then successfully combats the common arguments for an ignorant ministry, and observes in conclusion: "This is the common cry of the multitude, *Ye may see what good learning did in the Bishops' time: We must never look for better from it! Therefore down with it!* Yet this I say, that if the value of but one Bishopric were bestowed on seven honest and able Divines that might maintain a School of Divinity, and [were] the scriptures interpreted by them according to the best improvement of human skill, such satisfaction would be given, that the mouths of those who fill the world with new fancies would be stopped, the hard places of scripture made plain, unity and piety much advanced: Which no one man's skill will ever be able to bring to pass, that would make more for the safety of the kingdom than all the forces and power of the sword."

With such sentiments as these about the superiority of the Puritans over the Bishops, it is not wonderful that Hussey should plead in the following manner for a better maintenance: "Were any ministers received into this state as *Commissioners to preach the Gospel* ought? Have any sort of ministers been received as Ambassadors from a King to his own subjects? Were not those Bishops that were honoured by this State, first sized to the Prince's humour and good experience had of their servile condition, then sent out to stop the mouths of all that were not fitted to the same last, not with the commission of Christ *to preach what He commanded*, but with a new commission to preach what the Prince and his Commissioners should allow? And was all this done with intelligence, according to principles of christian religion? Or have not all these strivings to keep the ministers of the Gospel under, come from a more corrupt fountain, that they might not be bold to preach against their corruptions, or lay the yoke of Christ too heavily on the necks of kings, princes, and people!—Were not Bishops nursed up to keep the ministers of the Gospel from speaking boldly in the name of Christ? Was not this their style? *No Bishop, No King!* I never heard *No Bishop, No Christ!* But had they relied on Christ, and heard Christ freely speaking to them out of the Gospel, He would have kept them safer than the Bishops did. And I dare boldly say, *No honour and freedom given to the ministers of the Gospel, No Christ received in that Commonwealth!* Men dare not say, 'Christ is proud: A course must be taken to bring Christ a little 'lower!' But, *Ministers are proud; they must be taken down; they must come under the gentry.* If that be the end of taking down the Bishops, *to make the Clergy below the Gentry*, I would fain know, by what principle must wealth needs be of more esteem than religion? But let these men speak plain, and tell us they will bring Christ below the Gentry. Indeed, I have heard a gentleman that had some influence on the placing of a minister in a country church, should say, 'he 'scorned any minister should be so saucy as to tell him his faults:' And surely the carriage of the Gentry has been such, as if they were above the commands of Christ."

The fact is, the character here drawn of the Bishops is much more applicable to the Puritans themselves: For no man was permitted to become a Court Preacher before the Long Parliament, unless he had first proved himself "to be sized to their humour, and good experience had of his servile condition." He was then qualified to be sent, as all *the Assembly of Divines* were commissioned by Parliament, August 10, 1643, "to go into the country to stir up the people to rise for their defence," or, as Hussey quaintly expresses it, "to stop the mouths of all that were not fitted to the same last." Where are the records of the Bishops, or of the Episcopal Clergy, engaging in a warlike crusade, and exciting

then been suppressed: "War is the breaking out of the Lord upon an unjust people. I dare say, had the judges walked in judgment according to *the Petition of Right*,—punished those that first took monopolies, tonnage, and poundage, not exacted, because not granted in Parliament, or [had] the exacters [been] punished in judgment,—[had] ship-money not [been] judged *to be law* contrary to law,—it had been impossible to have brought the

their fellow-subjects to arouse themselves, and destroy their republican invaders? The sermons preached by Hammond, Sanderson, Usher, and others, before the Court and the Army, are still extant: Let a comparison be instituted between these pacific and truly christian discourses, (of which many specimens will be found in the subsequent pages,) and those of their adversaries. It will then be instantly seen, that the adherents to Arminianism and Loyalty were better instructed in the school of Christ Jesus, and did not return railing for railing, but contrariwise blessing.

Old Dr. Thomas Manton, though he also was a Presbyterian, had the same view of the bad consequences of suppressing Episcopacy. In his Sermon before the Commons, June 30, 1647, he said: "I confess, God loveth to '*pour contempt upon the sons of Levi that are partial in the Covenant*,' (Mal. ii, 9,) and it is his way many times to cause '*the voice of many waters*,' that is, of the confused multitude, to go before '*the voice of mighty thunderings*,' (Rev. xix, 6,) that is, the regular act of the magistrate, whose sentences and decrees are terrible as thunder. And therefore I do adore the justice of Divine Providence, in causing the former ministry to become base and contemptible before all the people. But, however, I cannot but sadly bewail the mischiefs that abound amongst us by the neglect of men. Though the corruptions of Episcopacy made it justly odious, yet it would have been better it had been, rather than jested down. *Arguments* would have done more good than *scoffs*, beside the danger of *returning to folly*. Do but consider the present inconveniences of making so great a change without more public and rational conviction; when things that before were of reverend esteem, are of a sudden decried. What is the effect? Why, religion itself is of less esteem: Men suspect all, can as well scoff at truth as error. Calvin's observation is excellent: He saith, that 'in times of changes there are many that are 'of Lucian's temper, who, by jesting against all received rites, insensibly lose all 'sense and awe of religion; and, by scoffing at false Gods, come the less to 'dread the true.' Consider, and see if the former liberty of tongues and pens hath not begotten that present irreverence and fearlessness that is in the spirits of men against things that undoubtedly are of God. But this is not all: Do but consider how many are hardened in their old ways, and prejudiced against the reformers, as if they were men that did proceed, not to perfection, but to permutation, were men given to changes, merely to love things out of passion and present dislike, or, which is worse, out of self-aims."

The truth is, the Puritans had "raised a spirit which they could not lay." They had taught the common people to ridicule the decent observances of Episcopacy, and they could not prevail with them, after having abandoned the *form* of religion, to shew any attachment to the *substance*. Besides, all these Puritanic complainers studiously conceal the important fact, that Calvinism was inadequate to produce any good effect upon a people that had been carefully instructed in their Christian duties, as the great mass of the nation had been by many of the Bishops and Episcopal Clergy. Though the political might of Calvinism in the Civil Wars gained the ascendancy here, as it had previously done in Holland, yet its "moral power" was gradually diminished during the whole of the Interregnum, notwithstanding the strenuous exertions which were made for its establishment, and which had never before been made for that of any other religious system. I could quote several confessions similar to this, from the Calvinistic sermons preached before the Long Parliament.

people into such a distemper as to fall one upon another. The fault was laid upon the BISHOPS and CLERGY of the land. I will not excuse them as far as they had any hand in over-swaying the Judges, putting down the good ones, and setting up such as were servile and might easier be bent to serve the lust of the Court against law,—or as they were active themselves in arbitrary Courts to the oppression of the people, such as were the High Commission, Star Chamber, Council Table. But this I dare say, the most immediate causes of breach of peace have been failings in judgment. All failings in judgment are oppressions; therefore is judgment opposed to oppression."

The next quotation, from Thomas CASE's sermon before the Commons, May 26, 1647, describes the havoc which this Calvinistic Crusade had made in the belief and the practice of the nation, compared with which, the preacher says, the abolished *ceremonies* of Episcopacy were *children's sport:* "Is there any thing refused and opposed so much as Reformation? Oh that Popery were so much opposed as Reformation! Oh that Blasphemies were so much opposed as Reformation! Oh that Anti-christianism and Atheism were so much opposed as Reformation! Happy we then! Would ye know WHEN all these abominations are broken out in England? Oh, it is in a time of Reformation! In a time of the breaking out of gospel-light and liberty, such as the world never saw since it was christian: In a time when we had sworn ourselves to God by Covenant 'to extirpate Popery, Prelacy, 'Superstition, Heresy, Schism, Profaneness, and whatsoever shall 'be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of god-'liness.' Alas! we run in such a contrary motion, that a man might almost think there was a word in the Covenant mis-printed, and the next *errata* should bid the reader read ESTABLISH instead of *extirpate.* Oh, God may say of us, *When I would have healed England, then the iniquity thereof was discovered!* England was never so bad as in a time of Reformation. Witness the numerous and numberless increase of errors and heterodox opinions even to blasphemy among us! The world once wondered to see itself turned Arian. England may wonder to see itself turned Anabaptist, Antinomian, Arminian, Socinian, Arian, Anti-trinitarian, Anti-scripturist, what not! Alas, what were CEREMONIES to these things, but (as Calvin once called them) *tolerabiles ineptiæ,* 'children's sport' in comparison! How much less an evil was it, think ye, to bow at the name of Jesus, than to deny, to blaspheme the name of Jesus? (2 Pet. ii, 1.)"

These topics are still more amply treated in the next quotation, and might soon be confirmed by numbers of others. In the perusal of this volume, the reader will find that I have frequently alluded to the attachment of the people of England to Episcopacy, and have (p. 779,) called the influence of the Episcopal Clergy, "DEEP ROOTED:" No one, I think, who reads the following il-

lustrative passages from Richard KENTISH's sermon before the Commons, Nov. 24, 1647, will consider that epithet to have been inappropriately applied:

"Oh that the Lord would persuade the people of England, to *remember from whence they are fallen.* (1.) The people of England once loved the Saints, and honoured those that feared the Lord; but now they loath them. They once longed for a Parliament, petitioned for a Parliament, honoured a Parliament, thought they could not be happy without a Parliament; but now how is the Parliament slighted! their order and ordinances contemned! and how many are there that say to the Parliament, as the Gadarenes to Christ, *Oh that it would depart out of our coasts!* Oh how is England fallen!

"(2.) The people of England once desired reformation, petitioned for reformation, covenanted for reformation. But now they do hate to be reformed; they are like Israel of old in their travel towards the promised land; *they preferred the garlick and onions of Egypt, before the milk and honey of Canaan;* so now a prelatical Priest, with a superstitious service-book, is more desired, and would be better welcome to the generality of England, than the most learned, laborious, conscientious Preacher, whether Presbyterian or Independent. Oh how is England fallen!

"(3.) Again: About six years since sin began to be ashamed, to creep into corners, to be out of fashion. But now sin is grown brazen-faced, walks in the open streets, is come in great request again. Sabbaths are profaned, ordinances slighted, swearing is accounted gainful, drunkenness goes unpunished, and whoredom the people are apt to think lawful now, because, since the Bishops' Courts went down, we have scarce any law against it.

"Now here (by the way) I do most earnestly beseech you, (honoured worthies of Parliament,) if you have not been acting that way already, to hasten out some order for the punishment of that heinous sin of adultery. We read in God's law, (Lev. xx, 10.) that he that committeth adultery with his neighbour's wife, the adulterer and the adulteress, shall surely be put to death. Was it to be punished with death then, and shall it go unpunished now? I beseech, let some course be taken that such kind of transgressors may be made to smart.

"(4.) Again: Oh how is England fallen! Time was when we rejoiced that we had days of fasting; we looked upon them as none of our least mercies. But now we are ready to say with those in Amos viii, 5: *When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the Sabbath, that we may set forth wheat?* So say our people, 'When shall we have an end of these fasting days, 'that we may follow our callings, look to our shops and our other 'occasions?' And these poor simple creatures are mad after superstitious festivals, after unholy holidays. Alas! why should we be weary of well-doing? Are England's dangers all over? Is not Ireland's case as bad as it was? And shall we give over seek-

ing of God? Oh that we would *remember from whence we are fallen!*

"(5.) Yet it were somewhat tolerable, if there were such a declining only among the generality of England, if it were only among the *riff-raffs* of the people. But alas! how are England's professors fallen from hot to cold, from better to worse! They are not like the people they were. Do they not neglect Sabbaths, slight sermons, grow weary of Manna? Is not their love to Christ, to Christians, grown cold? Do they not love the world better than they were wont? Are they not grown more foolish and fashionable, more contentious and complimental than formerly? You cannot know a professor from a prodigal, a christian from a carouser, now a-days. Oh how are England's professors fallen! Oh that England, that the people of England, both high and low, rich and poor, one and other, from Dan to Beersheba, would this day begin, to *remember from whence they are fallen, and repent!*"

Evidence sufficient has now been adduced to prove, from the men themselves, the erroneousness of Mr. Scott's assertion, and that the most active "leaders in those tragical scenes" were, in reality, the Predestinarian Divines.

3.—*The Puritans who embraced Presbyterianism, were not favourable to Civil or Religious Liberty.*

But it is gravely asserted, by some of our most popular historians, that these "Puritans were the renowned fathers of English Liberty." This proposition is true in the same sense as, that the devil was the cause of Job's final earthly prosperity; but in no other acceptation can it be deemed correct, either in regard to the Presbyterians or Independents as a body.

The ideas entertained, by the leading Puritans, on the subject of TOLERATION, shall be expressed in the very language which they employed in their discourses before the Long Parliament:

In a sermon before the House of Peers, Feb. 24, 1646, Nathaniel HARDY made the following *improvement* upon the Solemn League and Covenant into which their Lordships and all the Revolutionists had entered: "Remember, I beseech you, you are within the bounds of a Covenant; for what? for a Toleration? No, for *an extirpation of all heresies, schisms, and profaneness.* What, if, while the Ark was floating on the waters of strife, you were enforced to entertain wolves and lambs together, yet now that the waters are abated and the ark in some measure settled, send out the wolves from the fold. Oh, let your thankfulness to God, for preserving the bounds of your possessions, appear, by your maintaining the bounds of his worship! Suffer not yourselves, I beseech you, by self-respects and politic principles, to be withdrawn from this work. He that pieceth God's Providence with carnal policy, is like a greedy gamester, who, having got all his game in his own hand, steals a needless card

to assure himself of winning, and thereby loseth all. It is a hard question, 'Whether is greater idolatry—*to prefer reasons of state before principles of piety*,—or *to worship a golden calf*?' O let policy ever give place to piety, your private affections be swallowed up in the common cause, as small rivers lose their name in the ocean.

"But as you take with you WORDS, so take to you the SWORD, and think God saith to you as he did to Joshua, *Wherefore lie on your faces? Up and be doing; take away the accursed errors from among you!* That of St. Bernard is true, if taken *cum grano salis*, 'Faith is wrought by persuasions, not by compulsions:' Yet that of Tertullian is as true, 'Obstinacy must be forced, not wooed.' It was a divine speech of Seneca, 'Divers nations appoint various punishments, all some for those that violate religion.'—I have learned so much state-divinity as to distinguish between *voluntas signi et beneplaciti:* I well know, the biassed Bowls may fetch a compass to touch the Jack. Dumb Zachary begat him [the Baptist] who was the voice of a crier: Neither doubt I but your former *silence* will end in a *loud decrying* of all heterodox opinions and practices. My only aim is to add spurs to your pious intentions, that they may appear by such peremptory actions, as the people may not deceive themselves with vain hopes of unsufferable liberties. It is to be supposed, that,—as in the sweating-sickness in England, the sick persons, when beaten on the face with sprigs of Rosemary by their friends, would cry out, *Oh you kill me! you kill me!*, whereas indeed they had killed them in not doing it, for had they slept they had died,—so those whom the sickness of error hath surprised, being suppressed, will exclaim and say, *Oh you persecute them! you persecute them!*, whereas indeed it is not a persecution that lets out the life-blood, but a prosecution that lets out the corrupt blood. Oh happy violence, which pulls men out of the fire! Blessed bonds, that tie men to Christ! Comfortable fetters, which keep our feet in the way of peace!"

On the afternoon of the same day, Dr. John LIGHTFOOT thus pursued the same argument: "It is not yet four years since we entered into as solemn a Covenant as ever did nation: And will it be believed in the next generation, if our guilt upon it do not make it too evident,—or would it be believed in any remote parts of the world, but that the fame of it is blown through all nations,—that, in so short a time, after so solemn an obligation, and the Parliament that brought on the Covenant sitting, the Covenant should be so forgot as we dolefully see daily that it is?—We vowed *against Error, Heresy, and Schism*, and swore to the God of Truth and Peace, *to the utmost of our power to extirpate them, and to root them out*.. These stones, and walls, and pillars, were witnesses of our solemn engagement. And now, if the Lord should come to enquire what we have done according to this vow and

covenant, I am amazed to think what the Lord would find amongst us. Would he not find ten schisms *now* for one *then*, twenty heresies *now* for one *at that time*, and forty errors *now* for one *when we swore against them?* Was there ever more palpable walking contrary to God, or more desperate crossing of a covenant? If we had sworn, to the utmost of our power, to have promoted and advanced error, heresy, and schism, could these then have grown and come forward more, than now they have done, though we swore against them?—And so we entered in as solemn an engagement for *Reformation in matters of Religion;* and this was the joyful sound that stirred up the hearts of the people, and this was their hopes. Five or six years ago it was proclaimed, and between three and four years ago it was covenanted, and our hearts danced within us for the hopes we had in this particular. But what hath been done? *I looked,* saith God, *for grapes, and behold sour grapes,* and nothing else! When Reformation was first spoken of, we had order and ordinances; but now, how is the one lost and the other slighted! We had then Sacraments, full congregations, a followed ministry, and frequented churches; but now sacraments laid aside,—congregations scattered,—the ministry cried down,—churches empty,—church-doors shut up, *equestres Samnitum in ipso Samnio!* If you look for Reformation upon our Covenanting for Reformation, how little to be found, and how much clean contrary!"

Richard Vines, in his sermon before the House of Commons, March 10, 1646, inveighs most vehemently against a Toleration, and informs his honourable audience, that such a measure would produce the restoration of Episcopacy. Alluding to the interference of King James, in the case of Vorstius, who had been chosen to the Divinity Professorship at Leyden, the preacher says: "He bears himself upon that common rule, *when a neighbour's house is on fire, it concerns all in the neighbourhood to look about them.* This vigilancy condemns our (I know not what to call it, I wish no worse might be said than) insensibleness and security. For, what were those sparks at that time smoking in a remote corner, in comparison of that fire which now flames forth at every corner of our house, blown up by that *liberty of all religions* which may justly be called *the Golden Calf* of these times! Whereunto many are not unwilling to contribute their strength and policy, and whose birth-day they would not fear to call *Festum Jehovæ,* an acceptable day unto the Lord. Are not the errors which are rife amongst us, either by infecting persons of place and quality, grown into that *boldness?** or, by *carrying*

* The patronage of Toleration by "persons of place and quality" is alluded to, in a subsequent part of this Introduction, as one of the grand causes which prevented the persecution of one Calvinistic sect by another. Though all these sects combined to crush Episcopacy and Arminianism when they could, yet the interest of the Statesmen was frequently exerted to screen the sufferers.

away BARNABAS* also, crept into that *credit?* or, by spreading far and wide, risen to that *strength?* that they do *face,* if not seem able to put into danger of routing, our common faith, public worship, authorized ministry, long and much expected and promised Reformation! This, to the common enemy, is *the Cape of Good Hope.* The sound part are afraid lest the truth should come to beg for poor quarter, and be led captive, following the chariot of triumphant liberty. Some think, that Episcopacy in his *Pontificalibus* may by this means be retrieved, and recalled from exile, to which it was sentenced by the Covenant. Many that are as distant as the two poles, yet, moving upon one axle-tree, or tied together by the tails of *common interest,* doubt not but, by laying their stocks together, they shall be able to bid fair for a TOLERATION. And, that we might not be left alone to wonder at ourselves, our sympathizing brethren abroad do wonder also, that we should be made the common sewer to receive the garbage of other churches, and their *stinking snuffs* should be allowed candlesticks here in England.—I wish that our military men had not transfused error into the several parts of our body. If it be said, that *many of those who are charged with teaching of errors or heresy are holy men,*† I answer, that a holy man cannot easily be a

* The "Barnabas," of whom mention is here made, was, I think, Dr. John Owen, whose name certainly gave "credit" to such "a liberty of all religions," as his rigid Calvinism would allow him to indulge. Tolerant principles, it is seen, were "spread far and wide," and those who patronized them became in consequence very popular preachers. (See page 448.) The "military men" are also here blamed, for "having transfused error into the several parts of the body." See page

† What a remarkable difference between this uncharitable sentiment, and that of "the ever-memorable Hales," quoted in a succeeding page: "He would often "say, that he would renounce the religion of the Church of England to-morrow, if "it obliged him to believe that any other CHRISTIANS should be damned," &c.

Still greater is the contrast between the unhallowed zeal of these tyrannizing *Calvinists,* and "the heavenly flame" which is beautifully described in the only *Arminian* sermon preached before the Long Parliament. After an eloquent apostrophe to Divine Love, Dr. Ralph Cudworth, on March 31, 1647, made the following just remarks:

"Let us express this sweet harmonious affection, in these jarring times; that so, if it be possible, we may tune the world, at last, into better music. Especially, in matters of religion, let us strive with all meekness to instruct and convince one another The Gospel at first came down upon the world gently and softly, like the dew upon Gideon's fleece; and yet it quickly soaked quite through it: And, doubtless, this is still the most effectual way to promote it further. Sweetness and ingenuity will more powerfully command men's minds, than passion, sourness, and severity; as the soft pillow sooner breaks the flint, than the hardest marble. Let us '*follow truth in love;*' and, of the two, indeed, be contented rather to miss of the conveying of a speculative truth, than to part with love. When we would convince men of any error by the strength of truth, let us withal pour the sweet balm of love upon their heads. TRUTH and LOVE are two the most powerful things in the world; and when they both go together, they cannot easily be withstood. The golden beams of Truth, and the silken cords of Love, twisted together, will draw men on with a sweet violence, whether

heretic; nor are all the errors of holy men to be called *heresy*, though they may be *hay and stubble* upon the foundation. But it hath been observed of old, that some *Heresiarchs*, or heads of heresy, have been well reputed for strictness and unblameableness of life: We learn out of Austin, that Pelagius had a very good testimony; and scripture tells us, *they come in sheep's clothing and speak lies in hypocrisy*. Lies would not take, if they were not commended by the holiness of the person, and gilded over, as a rotten nutmeg, with gold. There is a transformation of

they will or no. Let us take heed, we do not sometimes call that *zeal for God and his Gospel*, which is nothing else but *our own tempestuous and stormy passion*. True zeal is a sweet, heavenly, and gentle flame, which maketh us active for God, but always within the sphere of love. It never calls for '*fire from heaven*,' to consume those that differ a little from us in their apprehensions. It is like that kind of lightning, (which the Philosophers speak of,) that melts the sword within, but singeth not the scabbard: It strives to save the soul, but hurteth not the body. True zeal is a loving thing, and makes us always active to *edification*, and not to *destruction*. If we keep the fire of zeal within the chimney, in its own proper place, it never doth any hurt; it only warmeth, quickeneth, and enliveneth us: But if once we let it break out, and catch hold of the thatch of our flesh, and kindle our corrupt nature, and set the house of our body on fire, it is no longer zeal, it is no heavenly fire, it is a most destructive and devouring thing. True zeal is an *ignis lambens*, a soft and gentle flame, that will not scorch one's hand; it is no predatory or voracious thing: But carnal and fleshly zeal is like the spirit of gunpowder set on fire, that tears and blows up all that stands before it. True zeal is like the *vital heat* in us, that we live upon, which we never feel to be angry or troublesome; but though it gently feed upon the *radical oil* within us, that sweet balsam of our natural moisture, yet it lives lovingly with it, and maintains that by which it is fed: But that other furious and distempered zeal, is nothing but a fever in the soul. Our zeal, if it be heavenly, if it be true vestal fire kindled from above, will not delight to tarry here below, burning up straw and stubble and such combustible things, and sending up nothing but gross earthy fumes to heaven; but it will rise up, and return back pure as it came down, and will be ever striving to carry up men's hearts to God along with it. It will be only occupied about the promoting of those things which are *unquestionably good*; and when it moves in the irascible way, it will quarrel with nothing but *sin*. Here let our zeal busy and exercise itself, every one of us beginning first at our own hearts. Let us be more zealous than ever we have yet been, in fighting against our lusts, in pulling down those strong holds of sin and Satan in our hearts. Here let us exercise all our courage and resolution, our manhood and magnanimity.

"There is a straitness, slavery, and narrowness in all sin. Sin crowds and crumples up our souls, which, if they were freely spread abroad, would be as wide and as large as the whole universe. No man is truly free, but he that hath his will enlarged to the extent of God's own will, by loving whatsoever God loves, and nothing else. Such an one doth not fondly hug this and that particular created good thing, and envassal himself unto it; but he loveth every thing that is lovely, beginning at God, and descending down to all his creatures, according to the several degrees of perfection in them. He enjoys a boundless liberty, and a boundless sweetness, according to his boundless love. He inclaspeth the whole world within his outstretched arms; his soul is as wide as the whole universe, as big as '*yesterday, to-day, and for ever*.' Whosoever is once acquainted with this disposition of spirit, he never desires any thing else; and he loves *the life of God* in himself, dearer than his own life."

Satan into *an angel of light*, of false Apostles into *the Apostles of Christ*, of Satan's ministers into *the ministers of righteousness;* (2 Cor. xi, 13—15.) and therefore we must not measure or judge of Faith by the Person, but of the Person by the Faith. Truth may be as a jewel in a dunghill, and error carried (as Hannibal carried his poison) in a gold ring. That horse of superstition and idolatry, upon the back of which the Devil hath in former times made war against the Church, is slain under him; and now he is mounted upon a fresh horse of another colour, called LIBERTY OF OPINION, falsely called *Liberty of Conscience*. Let us not be ignorant of his devices!—Let not Reformation and Religion be cried up for *design* and *to serve turns:* Settle it speedily. Send forth the Confession, that it may testify to the world that you hold the form of sound and wholesome words. Let some government and order be established. Religion is the ball of contention: Many men's hopes lie in our differences, and their interests are served upon them. We have *professed* enough for Reformation and Purity, and have *covenanted* to endeavour it. The world is weary of *words*, they look for *fruit*. Let this day set an edge upon you: No man take a BREAK-fast of this Fast. Let not our ruin be under your hand! There was a BUT in Naaman's story: He was such and such, BUT *a leper*. You have done worthily, covenanted seriously; BUT the matter of Reformation lies most of it as yet in the Covenant. It may be, 'the foolishness of many 'opinions on foot makes you slight them,' as Calvin said of Servetus's first onset, *securum me reddidit ipsa dogmatum fatuitas*. But be not secure; a great fire may rise out of a small spark. Let the souls of so many thousands of people be precious in your eyes; and the Lord make your name like the name of those who have built the house of God!—I pray you, let me not be understood to ship, in one and the same bottom, every error or mistake with damnable heresies. 'Some differences of opinions,' as one (Lord Verulam) elegantly saith, 'are as the strivings of one 'Israelite with another: And these Moses quiets, and parts them 'fairly. And some are like the Egyptian striving with the Israel-'ite, whom Moses smites down.' There must be differences made between Error and Heresy, Erroneous and Heretics, Seducers and Seduced. I would I might entreat, nay, press it upon, those that are called PURE INDEPENDENTS, that they would zealously and seriously declare against the doctrinal errors and heresies of these days; that such pernicious errors may not shelter themselves under their name or wing, nor ever any INDULGENCE or TOLERATION be either desired or granted upon such a reason, as all may come in at the same breach or port: For that would be but a selling of the Church into a LIBERTY of being in captivity to destructive confusions and errors."

At the subsequent monthly Fast, April 28, 1646, SIMEON ASH spoke thus to the House of Commons: "Lately you appointed

a solemn general Fast, that we might be humbled before God, and pray, in regard of the inundations of errors and heresies. Give me leave to ask you, whether you only intended to *speak* to God, and to *act* nothing? If you do not act according to your orders and prayers, God will judge you as hypocritical abusers of his name and ordinances. Doubtless, proportionable to your sincerity in appointing that Fast, will be your zeal to suppress that for which you professed humiliation before God."

On the same day, and to the same Honourable audience, WILLIAM STRONG uttered many similar sentiments. But the most amusing parts of his Discourse are those in which he employs scriptural threats. One of them is thus expressed: "God doth commonly put men out of their stewardship, secondly, by the tumults of the people; there is a particular curse of God upon the magistracy, in taking off the hearts of the people from them: —(1.) Either *openly and at once*, as in the case of Rehoboam and Nebuchadnezzar, for their cruelty and oppression, destroying their land and slaying their people; God giving them up unto such cursed ways, that their own subjects cast them out of their own dominions.—(2.) Or, *secretly and by degrees*. For God is not always a LION to a State, but sometimes a MOTH; and the prophet Zechariah, (xi. 16,) speaks of the '*withering of the Shepherd's right arm*,' which is the decay of his authority and ruling power by degrees. Some seditious libels, you know, have been scattered abroad, of 'the people's re-assuming their power,' which doubtless is wicked;* for God never put the sword into

* These Calvinistic pastors delivered political doctrines in their sermons, to suit different periods; thus, Richard HEYRICKE, before the Commons, May 27, 1646, preaching from Queen Esther's expression, *And if I perish, I perish!*, said: "The poorest subject may have liberty to prefer his petition, a privilege that Esther, though a Queen, could not have; but if she would go uncalled to the King, she must run the hazard of the law, for *it was not according to the law*. How far such laws do bind, I cannot determine: 'He is no transgressor,' saith the Civil Law, 'that crosseth not the mind of the Law-giver,' though he break the letter of the law: And a reasonable cause, as the Casuists and Schoolmen agree, ever excuseth the breaking of a human law. I heard it very lately from the Authority of the Honourable House of Commons, *What laws, ordinances, or orders soever, that are against the law of God, are, by the laws of this land, nulled.* The observation of laws is very commendable; but when exigencies are so violent, when confusion hath turned all upside-down, when the State is disturbed, when wicked men are combined, when all order is perverted, then men are to look to *the main chance*, then to solicit the principal business; and so much the more zealously, as Esther did, by how much there is less possibility of compassing it the ordinary way. When necessity is so urgent, that it makes the observing of the laws impossible, Nature, Reason, Laws, Religion, all instruct us to betake ourselves to that which is most necessary. Prerogative, Privilege, Liberty, all must be laid aside. It was a reproach unto Cato, he would rather suffer the Commonwealth to run into all extremity, when he might have succoured it would he have a little transgressed the laws: And contrarywise, Epaminondas is commended, that in case of necessity he continued his charge beyond his time, though the law, upon pain of life, did prohibit it. The Parliament shall ever be

the people's hands. But yet, though it may be the *sin* of the people, it may be the *punishment* of the magistrate, and the *judgment* of the kingdom."

At the next monthly Fast, May 26, 1646, THOMAS CASE delivered a Discourse before the House of Commons, and gave it the title of "Spiritual Whoredom." In his application of the doctrine, he says: "To you, honourable and noble patriots, I would humbly move, that you would exert that power and authority which God hath given you, to the punishing and suppressing of the adulteries and whoredoms of the land, which do stare heaven and earth in the face, and do provoke the jealousy of God, even to give England a bill of divorce, and to put us away. Arise, I say, Oh ye rulers and governors of England! '*Gird your sword upon your thigh, and ride on prosperously because of truth and righteousness, and let your right hand teach you terrible things!*' (Psalm xlv. 4.) You know what Phineas did, in the case of corporal whoredom, committed in the face of God and the congregation. '*Then stood up Phineas, and executed vengeance, or judgment:*' And you remember how well the Lord took it at his hands, '*The plague was stayed, and it was imputed to him for righteousness.*' (Psalm cvi. 31.) Oh that the spirit of Phineas may come upon you, that you may sheath your sword in the bowels of these monstrous whoredoms of all sorts, corporal and spiritual, which are committed in the sight of all Israel, yea in the sight of all the Churches round about us, that the blessing of Phineas may come upon you, and the plague may be stayed! Doth not indeed the punishing and suppressing of spiritual whoredoms against God,—idolatry, heresy, blasphemy, and the rest,—doth it not belong unto you, as well as the punishing of bodily whoredoms, theft, murder, &c.? Doth it indeed belong to you, only to look to the *Civil Peace*, and to let *Religion*, and *Truth*, and *the Worship of God*, stand or fall to their own master? Fight God, fight devil, fight Christ, fight Antichrist! Catch, that catch can! You have nothing to do, but to stand by and look on! Say so, then; speak out; publish it in your Declarations to the world, and let the people of England know, 'that it is the right and liberty, to which the subjects of England 'are born, that every man hold what he please, and publish and 'preach what he holds; that it is the birth-right (as some would 'have it) of the free-born people of England, every man to wor-'ship God according to his own conscience, and to be of what 'religion his own conscience shall dictate!' Do so, and see, fathers and brethren, how long your CIVIL PEACE will secure you when Religion is destroyed, how long it will be ere your *Civil*

famous; they have not only followed precedents, but made them."—This soothing doctrine might suit the Long Parliament; but the private interpretation of NECESSITY must always, on these principles, be dangerous to the community.

Peace be turned into CIVIL WAR! For, no doubt, if this once be granted them, but they may in good time come to know also, (there be them that are instructing them even in these principles too,) 'that it is their birth-right to be freed from the power of 'Parliaments and from the power of Kings; and to take up arms 'against both when they shall not vote and act according to their 'humours!' Liberty of conscience (falsely so called) may in good time improve itself into liberty of estates, and liberty of houses, and liberty of wives, and, in a word, liberty of perdition of souls and bodies!—Prevent the further departure of the land from God, by keeping out seducers,—those seducing, malignant, Popish, Prelatical priests, whom you have cast out, who have been one great cause of the apostacy of England. The sins of the teachers have been the teachers of sin: They are the men, who, with Hananiah and Zedekiah, *have taught rebellion against the Lord.* Certainly, if ye did well in putting of them out, ye will do extremely ill in taking of them in again. Hath the King's army bettered them? Hath Oxford changed their principles? I call heaven and earth to witness this day, that if ye suffer them to recover their stations again, or whoever of you shall for favour, reward, relation, or any other respects whatsoever, use your interest to re-invest them again into their places, you destroy what ye have builded, and will be found transgressors, and translate the blood of poor souls upon your own heads!"

4.—*How far the Independents, as a Body, were favourable to Toleration.*

But these, it will be said, were only "the absurd ravings of Presbyterian Intolerants." What then were the mature opinions of the *liberal* Independents on this important subject? Consisting, as the name imports, of numerous small churches of professing Christians, quite distinct from each other and completely *independent*, their very existence as separate religious communities under one denomination implied a mutual and enlarged TOLERATION of varieties in doctrine and discipline. (Page 389.) But the man who entertains such an idea has been deceived by the mere name; for he will find, that their toleration of *varieties in* DOCTRINE extended only to those who held the opinions of Calvin, in common with themselves: and that, with regard to *varieties in* DISCIPLINE, it was not allowed to reach, in every case, to those of their Predestinarian brethren who were attached to Presbyterianism, much less to those who were unfortunate enough to be Episcopalians. In page 449, I have said, "Cromwell, that wary politician, seems to have acted upon the maxim of King James, in balancing the power of one party by that of its opponent;" (p. 566;) and on no matter was the Protector's cunning more warily evinced, than in the futile attempt in which the Inde-

pendents engaged, by his direction, when the delegates of their Churches met at the Savoy, in 1658, to compose "A Declaration of the Faith and Order owned and practised in *the Congregational Churches* in England, &c." They had been exceedingly importunate with him, and with the rest of the Republican Statesmen, who generally ranged themselves under the banners of Independency, to grant them the supremacy after which their Presbyterian brethren had been fruitlessly aspiring; (p. 448:) and, "though the Independents had the best preferments left in the Church, and opened and shut the door of preferment to others," (p. 447.) yet they were dissatisfied with this high degree of favour which they enjoyed, because it was not accompanied with powers still more extensive. (Page 444.) Cromwell, therefore, under the pretence of a wish to ascertain what security they could give to the civil magistrate for the integrity and harmlessness of their tenets as a religious body, ordered them to prepare a Confession of Faith in which they could all agree. The arch politician knew, that if they prepared any public instrument of this description, which might be considered binding on the whole denomination, their Churches would immediately cease to be "Independent," except in name, and would by that single act assume a mild Presbyterian aspect. The pitiful subserviency of their principal men, in those days,* has induced many people to suppose, that a great majority of their Churches would have fallen into the rich snare which the Protector had laid for them, had the latter lived; and that the rest would have preferred their real Independency, though accompanied with secular disadvantages or civil penalties. But Cromwell died prior to the completion of their famous "Declaration;" in consequence of which, their hopes being dashed to the ground, no symptom of effective ecclesiastical power appeared in that document, except the very vague appointment of "Messengers of Churches holding communion together," who were empowered "to meet in Synod or Council, to consider and give advice [in cases of difficulties or differences] to be reported to all the Churches concerned."

Had the Independents succeeded in their wishes under the Protector, there is no doubt the following prophecy concerning them, from one of their Calvinistic brethren, would have been

* The reader will find Dr. Owen's sycophancy to the regicides related in page 382; and, in page 448, shrewd reasons are given for "the pliability of Independency" in that age of changes. Owen's biographer boasts of the rich members of their Churches; and, we are told by Robert Baylie, (p. 464.) that Philip Nye was "cried down as *impertinent*" in the Assembly of Divines, while speaking against the Presbytery. "The day following," says Robert, "when Philip "saw the Assembly full of prime nobles and chief members of both Houses, he "entered on that argument again, and very boldly offered to demonstrate, that "our way of drawing a whole kingdom under one National Assembly, is formi-"dable," &c. Further instances of their politic subserviency will be seen in other parts of this volume.

literally fulfilled. It was pronounced by the Rev. Thomas Case, in his Sermon before the Commons, May 26, 1646: "Is there not idolatry found among us? Ye have pulled down idols in the Churches, and ye have done well! But, Oh! idols are multiplied in the land: Every man's *opinion* is become his idol, which he adores and worships with highest veneration. We have cause to be humbled for our old Popery, and our old Popish ceremonies: You, our Honourable Senators, told us so once in an Ordinance of Parliament; and ye did well. But Popery was but one way of false worship: There be a generation of men in the land that stand up for *all kinds of false worship*, that every man may worship God after his own conscience; or if they will not own it in words at length, they will have it in figures: And if they may not, are ready not only to *cry*, but to *act* persecution,* and that to purpose: For while they *cry* perse-

* Beside their unwearied persecution of the Episcopalians and Arminians, Richard BAXTER asserts, in the subjoined extracts from his *Church Divisions*, that the Independents did not treat their Presbyterian brethren with too much kindness: "Was it no persecution, when many Anabaptists and Separatists made such work in England, Scotland, and Ireland, in Cromwell's time and after, as they did, when so many were turned out of the Universities for not *engaging*, and so many out of the Magistracy and Corporation Privileges? And when an ordinance was made to cast out all ministers, who would not pray for the success of their wars against Scotland, or that would not give God thanks for their victories? When I have heard them profess, *that there were many thousand godly men that were killed at Dunbar*, (to instance in no other,) and yet we were all by their ordinance to be cast out, that would not give God thanks for this.—What more harsh kind of persecution could there be, than to force men to go hypocritically to God against their consciences, and take on them to beg for the success of a war, which they judged unlawful, and to return him a public counterfeit thanks for bloodshed, yea, for the blood of thousands?"

This, certainly, is a very trifling display of persecution; and, if the Independents could be charged with no higher a degree of criminality than this towards the Arminians, they would appear in the foremost ranks of friends to Toleration. On the doctrines of General Redemption, they had been egregiously misinformed. They had seen Arminianism only in the form which Archbishop Laud had compelled it to assume, (p. 691,) and which undoubtedly was not the most attractive; and for many years they manifested no wish to be made better acquainted with its native purity as taught by the Dutch Founder of the system. When these obnoxious doctrines did not intervene, the Independent divines were almost uniformly found to possess a greater portion of philanthropy than their Presbyterian brethren: But the Independent statesmen were generally more lenient and generous than the divines of their persuasion. One of the most outrageous High Church-men that ever wrote, has given us the following just description of the Independents, in a reply to Richard BAXTER'S complaint at the commencement of this note:

"Presbytery is too tyrannical for the spirit of an Independent to bear. The "stomach of that party would not brook it; and so they cast it up again: For "there is, though a licentious, yet somewhat of a practical and accommodable "generosity in that party. But are not you aware, gentlemen, that the worse "you speak of these people, the greater is your condemnation for making the "Episcopal Party *still more insupportable than these* [*were*] *at the very worst?*" —L'ESTRANGE'S *Casuist Unvased.*

cution *gladio oris,* [' with the sword of the mouth,'] they are ready to *act* persecution *ore gladii* [' at the point of the sword']. I pray God, it may never be Englished!"

What defence of themselves did the Independents publish against this charge of *a General Toleration,* which, they knew, was intended to apply to them? JEREMIAH BURROUGHES, one of the chief of this party, thus disclaims "such a Toleration," in his Sermon before the House of Peers, Nov. 26, 1645: "Let not violence be used to force people to things spiritual that they know not. If those who now have but food and raiment should have great penalties inflicted upon them, for not submitting to what they yet have no means to instruct them in, how grievous would it be! The votes of Parliament are to be honoured, and the judgment of an *Assembly of godly and learned men* is not to be slighted; but that which must subject men's consciences, in matters concerning Christ and his worship, must be *light from the word.* Let not the greatness of your power be exercised upon those who do *what they can* to know the mind of Jesus Christ, and would fain understand and practise more, only they dare go no further than they see Christ before them. You cannot say, *Men are obstinate and will not see;* for what means hath the generality of the kingdom had to see ground out of Scripture for such great changes? To use force upon people before they have means to teach them, is to seek to beat the nail in by the hammer of *authority,* without making way by the wimble of *instruction.* Indeed, if you have to deal with rotten or soft sappy wood, the hammer only may make the nail enter presently: But if you meet with sound wood, with heart of oak, though the hammer and hand that strikes be strong, yet the nail will hardly go in; it will turn crooked or break: Or, at least, if it enters, it may split that wood it enters into; and, if so, it will not hold long, you have not your end. Consider, you have to deal with English consciences; there is no country so famous for firm strong oaks as England; you will find English consciences to be so.

"My Lords, you are advanced to high power and honour, in a kingdom where Christ hath as many dear saints of his, as (I had almost said) in all the world besides; He expects you should use them kindly. They have been faithful to you; even such as cannot fully come up to you, in some things you have published to the world. Where hath any one of them (though cried out upon, as *troublers of the kingdom*) falsified their trust in any thing you have committed to them? You sit here in peace, and enjoy your honours with abundance of mercies; in part, through the blessings of God upon their faithfulness and courage in venturing their lives for you: God forbid you should fall upon them, when your turns are served by them! Listen not to any who shall whisper such suggestions, or boldly vent such things as tend to the exasperation of your spirits this way. There is a great out-

cry against *the toleration of all religions*, and we are willing to join against such a toleration; but that which fills the mouths of many in this, is the heat of their spirits against those that differ from them *in any thing*, that they might with the more strength be able *by this* to strike at THEM: Suffer not your power to be abused to serve men's designs. Be faithful with God; encourage those that fear him; and God will take care of your honours; He will do good to you, and your posterity after you. Do not hearken to those who tell you, *These men would lay all level; they would make no difference between the Nobleman and Tradesman.* Yes, we know, honour is to be given to whom honour belongs. God hath made a distance between man and man; it is fit it should be acknowledged and observed."

This is certainly a noble description of the consciences of Englishmen; and the warning is very proper against using violence "to force people to things spiritual that they know not." In a preceding page, (lx,) the Presbyterian tyranny has been depicted, by Nathaniel Hardy, before the house of Peers, as consummate "PIETY!" He has there most ingeniously urged their Lordships to commit the foul deed which Burroughes so feelingly deprecates. "If, while the Ark was floating on the waters of strife," says Hardy, "you were enforced to entertain WOLVES and LAMBS together; yet now that the waters are abated, and the Ark in some measure settled, send out the WOLVES from the fold." The Independents remembered, for a long time afterwards, this "exasperation of their Lordships' spirits," and Burroughes intreats them "not to listen to any who shall whisper such suggestions."

On this subject, another Independent Preacher, "WILLIAM DELL, Minister of the Gospel, attending on his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax," speaks thus, in the Dedication of the sermon which he delivered before the House of Commons, Nov. 25, 1646: "Here lies *the mystery of iniquity* in this—that they [the Presbyterians] make *the whole kingdom* A CHURCH; and then require a power, authority, and jurisdiction in their CHURCH-KINGDOM, which the Magistrate is not to deal withal, but themselves.—What a balance they may prove against the State where they live, in turning and tumultuous times, as they themselves know, so I hope you clearly perceive. How do they manifest their discontents against you, in pamphlets and pulpits, in their sermons and prayers, because you have not settled the government [which] they have studied out for you as *Jus Divinum* and the certain and unchangeable mind of God, though they can neither make it out to yourselves, nor to any body else, by THE WORD, that it is so! And how do they labour to instil into the people their own discontents, persuading them *you have done nothing at all*, because you have not done all that ever they would have you do, though you can see neither reason nor scripture

for it! Some discoveries of this spirit you might see in Mr. LOVE's sermon, telling you before your faces, and before the people, that *some called you* A MONGREL PARLIAMENT! Telling you also, *The Clergy had done as much service for you in their Pulpits, as your Regiments in the Field;* that, by this means, he might mind you what they can do *against* you, as well as *for* you, if you be not servants to their designs!—I shall trouble you no further with any such stuff, but only with a smart expression from one, it seems, of some note in the Assembly [of Divines] who said, 'If the Parliament approved Mr. DELL's Sermon, it were no blas-'phemy to say, *they were no Parliament!*' So that it seems you shall be no longer a Parliament, than you approve what the Assembly approves! But the kingdom hopes, you are built upon a better foundation."

In his Sermon, Dell relates the following anecdote, and adds a few just reflections: "I read, in FRITHE's *Answer to the Bishop of Rochester*, 'that a youth, being present at his father's burning, 'the officers, seeing him, resolved to examine him also, to try if 'they might find him a sectary or a heretic: But the youth, dis-'mayed at the sad sight of his father's death, and fearing the like 'end himself, being asked of one of them, *how he believed?*, 'answered, *Sir, I believe even as it pleaseth you.*' And so, the more outward and violent power is used upon men, the more of this kind of faith and obedience you shall have. When men shall see prisons, and banishments, and loss of goods, and death, walking up and down the kingdom for the Reformation of the Church, you shall at last have men say, '*Sirs, we will believe and do, even as it pleaseth you: We will believe as the State pleaseth, or we will believe as the Council pleaseth; and let them make what confession they will, we had rather* BELIEVE *them, than* ENDURE *them!*' And thus by fear and punishment may men be brought to say and do that which they neither believe nor understand: And how acceptable such Popish faith and obedience is unto God, all spiritual Christians know, and every man's conscience, me thinks, should be convinced."

Dell's Sermon contains sentiments more tolerant and liberal, than those of the other Independent ministers, who gave public expression in those days to their opinions. He may be considered as the Army's representative at that period,* having pow-

* DELL was one of the most fanatical of the Army Chaplains; yet, with all his eccentricities, he and his *multiform brethren* of the Independent persuasion were the only persons qualified to cope with the intolerant Presbyterians. The worst feature in his character was that which generally attached to the men of his denomination, a suppleness of principle in accommodating his tenets to the varying circumstances of the times, and to the prejudices of the people or the army.

In RICHARD BAXTER's *Second Admonition to Bagshaw*, it is said: "Alas! how common was this in the Army—*to set up and pull down, do and undo, own*

erfully pleaded their cause in his Sermon. Yet, by consulting "the humble Petition of the Officers of the Army," in a succeeding page, (779,) it will be seen, that even they, who, from the number of their discordant sects, required the most extensive indulgence from each other, were very careful to except POPERY and PRELACY, and under the latter term they always included Arminianism. The same exceptions are made by Dr. Owen, (p. 416,) against "Papists' Images and Prelates' Service-book;" and his open avowal, that "*the zeal of them that put Servetus to death may be acquitted,*" identifies his views on this subject with those of VINES in a preceding page (lxv). Indeed, I have not met with an Independent Minister of that era, (with the exception of John Goodwin,) who, when speaking without ambiguity or circumlocution on the subject, did not bear his testimony against tolerating Episcopalians, who were usually depicted under the epithets of *Delinquents, Malignants, Prelatists,* or *Arminians!*

The reader will find, in page 791, some reasons for the great extent of John Goodwin's catholicism, and his superiority in this respect to his famous cotemporary Dr. Owen. It is there shewn, that both of them acknowledge "their doctrine of *Religious* "*Liberty* to have been derived from the writings of the Remon-"strants: But, with this doctrine, Goodwin almost simultane-"ously imbibed that of *General Redemption;* and the latter "rendered the amplitude of the former much more distinct and "apparent. Owen, on the contrary, borrowed only just as much "of the Dutch doctrine of mutual toleration as served a tempo-"rary purpose, and fenced it about with many restrictions, which "might enable its advocate virtually to disclaim it at a convenient "season. Owen's views of toleration partook of the narrowness "of his religious system," &c. But, though the glory of *the first promulgation of tolerant principles* does not belong to the Calvinistic Independents, it is undoubtedly due to the Arminian branch of that denomination. Indeed, in what quarter soever Dutch Arminianism in those days achieved her conquests,—whether among Episcopalians, Presbyterians, or Independents,—she almost invariably rendered them favourable to the civil and religious liberties of mankind: Of her early trophies among these three denominations, JOHN GOODWIN, RALPH CUDWORTH, and LAWRENCE WOMACK were admirable specimens, that entitled her to the veneration of all the lovers of piety and freedom. I would have substituted JEREMY TAYLOR in the place of Womack, had not the former been an Arminian in the days of Laud; while the

and disown, as by the Spirit of God! There was Mr. Erbury, Mr. Saltmarsh, Mr. Dell, Mr. William Sedgwick, who, as from God, wrote one week to the Army *against their putting the King to death*, and the next week wrote quite to them *on the other side;* and who set London, by a prophecy or vision, on looking for the Day of Judgment, on a set day."

famous trio, whose names I have classed together, were converts to the doctrinal system of the Remonstrants during the Civil Wars. The Presbyterians, perhaps, have the greatest cause to complain of the manner in which the history of British Toleration is generally related: For, the great body of "the Latitude men," (p. 796,) who at the Restoration placed themselves under the wings of Episcopacy, were liberal Arminians. They had either become Presbyterians by education, or by the preference which, in the multitude of contending parties, they had given to that form of ecclesiastical regimen: But they found the *doctrinal* as well as the *ceremonial* restraints of the Presbytery too strict for them; and as soon as Episcopacy was, by the good Providence of God, restored to her former pre-eminence, in vast numbers they joined her truly catholic communion.

In the preceding extracts, one of the Presbyterians intimated, that "Episcopacy in his Pontificalibus might, by means of" the the Toleration for which the Independents pleaded, "be retrieved and called from exile." (Page lxiii.) Yet the same preacher, who knew the wishes of his party as Calvinists, (p. 454,) "intreats the PURE INDEPENDENTS,"—that is, those who adopted all *the Westminster Confession of Faith* except the parts which relate to Church-government,—"to declare zealously and seriously against the doctrinal errors and heresies of those days." The manner in which the latter complied with their brethren's request, and by which they brought themselves within the amicable arrangement of their Calvinistic "strivings," (being "those of one Israelite with another," whom "Moses quiets and parts fairly,") will be described in the commencement of the second volume. In that part, I expose the conduct of the TRIERS AND EJECTORS, of whom "the Independents formed the majority, and were the most active in the use of their delegated powers."—"These "TRIERS," says Granger, "for the most part, brought the test "to a short issue: If a Minister readily gave up the Five Points "of Arminius, embraced the tenets of Calvin, and was *orthodox* "in politics, he was generally qualified to hold any benefice in "the Church."

The obnoxious view which both Presbyterians and Independents took of Arminianism, has been shewn in several of the preceding pages. This will be still more apparent from the following extract of a sermon, preached before the House of Commons, December 30, 1646, by MATTHEW NEWCOMEN, who, as one of the famous *Smectymnyan* faction, had pleaded for Presbyterian liberty against good Bishop Hall:

"There is yet another dying object of your pity; and that is Truth, Religion, the Gospel, the Lord Jesus Christ, that lies a bleeding, that is drawn to death, ready to be slain: O do not, I beseech you, forbear to deliver them. There is scarce any truth of Christ, any doctrine of the gospel, any point of our religion, but by some temerarious hand or other hath been invaded, as-

saulted, maimed, ready to be slain. The doctrine of the Trinity, of the Godhead of Christ, and of the Holy Ghost, of the verity of the scriptures; the doctrine of election, of redemption, of vocation, of justification, of sanctification; the work of the Spirit, the rule of life, of holiness; the doctrine of the sacraments, of the immortality of the soul, &c.—Truth it is, right honourable and beloved, that, when first you met in Parliament, we were in great danger of losing our religion. There was a Popish Arminian faction, that had a design to rob us of our religion. God gave you hearts to be very sensible of that danger, and to be very zealous for the prevention of it: I, and thousands more, must and will *bear you record, that, if it had been possible, you would have plucked out your own eyes,* rather than have parted with the least *apex* or *iota* of divine truth, out of a lenity or indulgence to Papist or Arminian, or any other Heretic:* Where is then your former

* On the same day and to the same audience, STEPHEN MARSHALL delivered the following harangue:

"Our times are times of errors, horrible errors. I mean not such errors as are to be found among God's people, to whom he never hath given an equal light; and, notwithstanding which errors, Himself bears with them, and would have his people bear one with another. But I mean, our times are times of such errors as are heretical and blasphemous, such as concern our christian faith, and holy conversation, in a very high degree. It would weary you, but to tell you the things that are generally known to spread as a gangrene. A new generation of men are risen up, and spread all the points of Arminianism, *Universal Redemption, Apostasy from Grace, Man's Free-will.* Multitudes of others cry down the law, as *not having any thing to do with God's people*, others denying that the Saints of God should ever any more confess sin to God in prayer: Others questioning whether there be any church or ministry this day upon the face of the earth, and whether there shall be any till new apostles arise. Nay, beyond all these, many denying the Lord Jesus, that bought us with his blood, to be God, or the Holy Ghost to be God: Others denying the Three Persons in the Trinity, and, consequently affirming that we, and all the christian world with us, do worship idols instead of God; for if these men be right, they are idols whom we worship.—These, and abundance of such horrid things as these are, do spread and scatter like wild-fire every where in all corners of the land, to the great provocation of God's wrath, and our reproach through the christian world. And what have our heads to do at such a time? Certainly you, and all others, ought to mourn for these things, and tear your clothes, and your hairs, and your hearts, that God should be so dishonoured.

"But for your duties who are in high places, for what is peculiar to you, I'll not dispute any controversy at this time, but set down two things which I know you must yield to. ONE is: Certainly you must search diligently into the scriptures, and enquire whether Jesus Christ would have you oppose yourselves against these things that are so opposite to him:—If, upon a diligent search, you find that he hath not authorized you, do not you arrogate any authority that Christ hath not given you:—My lie will never honour God, though I should tell it for God's glory. And your thrusting yourselves into an office Christ hath not called you unto, will never be accepted by him. But if, SECONDLY, Upon a diligent search, it appears he hath given authority unto you, then I am as assured that he hath not left it to your arbitrement whether you will use it, or no; he hath not left it to your will, whether you will punish them. But if you have power to stop them and do not, he will lay them all at your doors, and require them at your hands. Therefore search diligently what you have power to do,

zeal? Is religion and truth less dear and precious now, than it was before? God forbid! Is it in less danger? Oh that it were! But surely, beloved, our danger in this particular is but a little changed, not quite removed. Then indeed religion was in danger of a more violent and quick dispatch, and now it is in danger of a more lingering, but as sure a death: Then it was like to have been dispatched with one thrust of a sword, or one chop of a hatchet, by the hand of known and undoubted enemies; now it is like to be stabbed to death with bodkins, with variety and multiplicity of errors, that have wounded our religion in every vein; and this assassinate upon religion, committed by those that would be counted her chief and only friends.

"Truly when I behold the face and state of religion among us, it is in mine eyes, as if the Lord Jesus Christ were crucified afresh, and put to open shame in the midst of us.—Here comes a blasphemous ARIAN, and he wounds his head, by denying him to be God.—There comes a sectary that is a flat ARMINIAN, though he hath not wit enough to know it, and he wounds him through the heart, by maintaining *universal redemption*, and that *Christ shed his blood for all men*, a thing that never entered into the heart of Christ!—There comes an ANTINOMIAN, and he pierceth his hands and his feet, by denying that exact walking and working by the rule of the moral law, which Jesus Christ came not to give an indulgence or dispensation from, but to give himself an example of: *Atque hæc impunè.* Can you plead ignorance of these things, and say, *Behold we know it not?* You cannot. Blessed be God, you do not; you have begun to set your faces against these blasphemies and heresies, that *(servis dormientibus)* are broken in upon us. Go on in this your might, to stop the mouth of all ungodliness, and the zeal of the Lord of Hosts be your strength! I know it hath been said by some, 'that because a heart to know and em-'brace the truth is the gift of God, and the Magistrate cannot by 'forcible means work such a heart in men, therefore the Magis-'trate must use no compulsion or co-ercion in matters of religion.' But certainly, though the Magistrate cannot give grace, yet he may compel men to attend upon those means where God doth usually give that grace: (2 Chron. xxxiv, 11. Ezra, x, 7, 8.)

and then let not these things go on to God's dishonour. But supposing you have authority, *What then is to be done?* I answer, you must not take blasphemies, errors, and heresies to be such upon the reports of other men, but as the Lord ordered them in the 13th of Deuteronomy, so likewise must you do, *search diligently whether indeed such and such things are done;* and when they appear to be done, out of the zeal of God do that against them which the Lord would have you do; let not your religion be thus contaminated; suffer not your children to whom you ought to be nursing-fathers, to be thus poisoned by such corrupt doctrines, nor devoured by such wolves: This I know you will all subscribe unto:—This I desire above all may stick with you, that if the Lord hath given you power, he hath not given you liberty to forbear such men: God in mercy make you zealous for him that hath been zealous for you in all your troubles!"

Else you must not only repeal the laws that enjoin Papists to come to our churches, but repent of them, as yours and the nations sins. And though the Magistrate *cannot give men a heart to know and love the truth*, yet certainly the Magistrate may make laws to restrain and punish errors and blasphemies that are against the truth; (Dan. iii, 29.) else, *pari ratione*, because a chaste heart, or a true and loyal heart, is the gift of God, and the Magistrate by all his penal laws, cannot make men have such hearts, therefore the Magistrate may not make laws to punish adultery, incest, theft, treason: Were this good divinity, or good policy?"

This was the common strain in which all the English Calvinists spoke concerning Arminianism; and their acts corresponded with their sayings. When, therefore, the two grand parties, into which the Predestinarians were divided, had scarcely sufficient charity to tolerate each other in the small matters about which they disagreed, it is not surprising that they would not suffer the Arminians, whom they classed with "heretics and blasphemers," to enjoy the exercise of their religious privileges without molestation. In pages 496 and 552, I have shewn the origin of this deadly antipathy to those who were attached to the doctrines of General Redemption. Gomarus declared, "that he durst not "appear in the presence of his Maker, if he maintained the "opinions which Arminius professed;" and all the subsequent champions of Calvinism, in Great Britain and in Holland, had studiously perpetuated this infernal feeling, by exhibiting the Predestinarian differences between themselves and their Arminian brethren, as *fundamental verities* and *essential to salvation!*—The English Independents, therefore, who acted upon this excluding principle to the time of the Restoration, when they were compelled to resign their "powers ecclesiastic," have in reality as slender a claim as their Presbyterian friends to the title of "the earliest and best friends to Toleration."

In several of these sermons before the Long Parliament, the army is blamed as "the grand hot-bed of *errors, heresies, and blasphemies.*" That the different military corps were far removed from *uniformity both in doctrine and discipline*, and that they had imbibed *many egregious errors*, no impartial person will deny. But the wonderful economy of the Providence of God is here again strikingly displayed, in over-ruling the spread of these evils for the attainment of a greater good. If the army had contained no *Arians, Socinians*, or *Antinomians*, with whom *Arminians* were likewise invidiously classed, the parties who held *the hundred and four-score new opinions*, to which Bishop Hall alludes, (p. 707,) would have had nothing to *tolerate* in each other: But as their religious sentiments were exceedingly multiform, and as they soon proved to the nation that they held the Supremacy in their own hands, though sufficiently zealous for their several principles, (p. 778,) they saw the *propriety* as well as the *safety* of yielding much

liberty to each other, "in things of the mind," as it is expressed (p. 452) by one of their arch commanders. It is to the honour of ARMINIANISM and EPISCOPACY, that they were both *as such* formally excluded from the benefits of Toleration, even in the republican Army. Both of them, however, were ultimately gainers by this exclusion: For, in that inquisitive age, after the first intemperate heat against the two obnoxious terms had subsided, people began to examine the reasons for such partiality against some of the best men in the nation. (See page 803.) The result was just what might have been expected,—after one outrageous error had expended its fury upon another, the sober and thoughtful part of the community became enamoured with the beautiful and chaste features of Truth, and gladly embraced her at the Restoration, under the form of Episcopacy,* Arminianism, and Monarchy.

* "These considerations of the unproportionableness of any other Church-government than a right Episcopacy to the temper of England, moved the supercilious, yet very learned, Salmasius,—in his advice to the Prince Elector [Palatine] then in England, and to some other of the Long Parliament and of Scotized Assembly, (who desired his judgment upon the then hot and perboiling, yea, passionate and overboiling debates touching Episcopacy,)—to tell them, 'that, as 'the Episcopal government, rightly constituted and executed, is very agreeable to 'the word of God and most conform to all Antiquity; so it was, of all other, 'most *suitable to the English spirit and constitution*: The want of which, he 'already foresaw, was and would ever be the cause of much disorder and dis-'traction, of infinite factions, heresies, schisms, and confusions.'—Thus the great Dictator of Learning (as he esteemed himself) was pleased, in this passage and other-where, graciously to express his judgment and pleasure, according to *the humour he was in* or to *the interest which he was pleased to adopt.* Sometimes he is WALO MESSALINUS, and ashamed to own his name against Episcopacy: He was, in that disguise, to gratify the pretensions of Presbytery, and the adherence or dependence which he had to the French and Dutch Churches. Otherwhile he puts off the vizard, and with open face owns the eminency, authority, antiquity, and universality of Episcopacy; yea, the incomparable utility of it, when joined with a grave and orderly Presbytery, besides a particular aptitude in it to the English genius."—GAUDEN's *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Suspiria.*

Salmasius was a very learned and clever man, but addicted to the love of money and of changes: His changeableness and mercenary habits rendered his writings against Milton of little estimation, though, abating his childish personalities, they were in many respects worthy of his great reputation. His character also will not be much enhanced, after the reader has perused the following extract from the last letter which the illustrious Grotius addressed to his brother in 1645, the year in which he died: "I do not know whether the account which I have heard "be correct, that letters have been written in the English Parliament to Sal-"masius, to engage him in the defence of their [the Presbyterians'] ecclesiastical "government against the Bishops and the Independents; and that he will do this "in the book which he is writing concerning the Primacy." When the English Presbyterians had contributed their share towards the murder of their king, (p. 385,) Salmasius wrote vigorously against the whole Calvinian phalanx; but his pen was represented as a venal one by his former employers, and his fame suffered much in consequence of this report. His injustice to the memory of Grotius, by whom he had been invariably treated with particular delicacy and attention, (p. 593,) operated to his disadvantage. In his ungenerous attack upon Episcopacy, then in ruins, he had a compeer in the famous David BLONDEL, who, though nominally a Cameronist, afterwards succeeded G. J. Vossius in the Chair

5.—*The culpable share which the Calvinists had in the Murder of King Charles the First.*

THE guilt which attaches itself to the two grand denominations of Calvinists, on account of the murder of King Charles the First, is impartially awarded in some of the following pages.

of History at Amsterdam. In a letter to Isaac Vossius, dated April 25, 1645, Grotius says: "I desire greatly to behold all BLONDEL's productions: For he "is exceedingly skilful in history, but the party to which he has addicted himself "sometimes transports him in a wrong direction."

It is to this last trait in the character of both, that Dr. Gauden alludes in the following passage: "Shall one David Blondel, or *Walo Messalinus*, (that is, *Salmasius*,) men indeed of excellent learning, yet obliged, (as Peter Moulin confesseth of himself, in his epistolary dispute with the most learned Bishop Andrews,) to 'plead what might be for the enforced stations and necessitated conditions of 'those Presbyterian churches with which they were then in actual fellowship and 'church-communion,'—shall, I say, these two men, who are the greatest props for Presbytery, be put into the balance against all the ancient and modern assertors of Episcopacy? Or shall the votes of the late Assembly [of Divines] be a just counterpoise against all the chief Reformed Divines at home and abroad?"

Dr. Gauden here ascribes the conduct of these men to their "obligations to plead *what might be* for the enforced stations of the churches with which they were in actual fellowship." I have read Calvin's and Beza's vituperative remarks on English Episcopacy, and was always accustomed to attribute to their native French politeness, the facility with which those great men "swallowed their own words," and broke out afresh into fulsome praises of well-regulated Episcopacy. But when I behold the same practice in several of their eminent successors, such as Du Moulin, Diodati, Salmasius, Blondel, Le Moyne, De L'Angle, and Claude, (all of whom were, with a single exception, likewise Frenchmen and exceedingly polite,) I am tempted, did not charity forbid, to impute their apparent, (yet often *forced*,) tergiversation to the native hollowness of the Calvinistic system. Much, indeed, of this "blowing *hot* and *cold*" proceeds from the violence of the party, and the awkward predicament in which ministers are placed, when the letters which contain their private opinions about their Calvinistic brethren are published. Such were the painful circumstances in which Le Moyne, De l'Angle, and Claude, were placed, when their confidential letters, (one of which I have quoted in page 421,) were published by Bishop Stillingfleet, at the close of his "Unreasonableness of Separation:" And, after all the ingenious arguments produced by Robert Robinson, of Cambridge, in his "Life of Claude," those who have perused both sides of the question, will at once perceive, that the first letters of these foreign Presbyterians contained their unbiassed opinions, and that their subsequent explanations only went to save their character with the party.

I must not conclude this note without informing my readers, that Dr. Hammond wrote an able Reply in Latin to Blondel and Salmasius, the latter of whom (through a feeling of loyal gratitude for his writings against the regicides,) is purposely treated with uncommon respect, for which the Doctor briefly gives this reason in his Preface. The Doctor's production is entitled, *Dissertationes Quatuor, quibus Episcopatus Jura ex S. Scripturis et Primæva Antiquitate adstruuntur.* To these erudite Dissertations, and to the several English pamphlets written in vindication of them, I acknowledge myself indebted for the more correct views which I have happily gained of Episcopacy. The labours of Dr. Hammond on this argument afford another proof of the immense advantage which an accurate knowledge of the Ancient Fathers gives to a Polemic writer, and the great superiority of the English Clergy in that department of sacred literature.

(379—391.) The craft and sophistry of the PRESBYTERIAN Calvinists, in this affair, are well expressed by the famous Daillée, one of that party, in his congratulatory letter on the Restoration of King Charles the Second (p. 606): "When our adversaries "formerly would charge the blame of the death of the late king "of England on our religion, you know we could very well guard "ourselves from this reproach, *by casting it entirely on the sectaries*, "who indeed were only guilty of that horrible crime."—One of these sectaries, LEWIS DU MOULIN, thus removes the burden from his own friends, the INDEPENDENTS, and throws it upon the army: "As for the odium that is cast upon the *Congregational Way*, and "upon those who are called Independents,—as being the more "immediate authors and abettors of the King's murder, and of "taking away Monarchy,—it can easily be wiped off and made "out, that Oliver Cromwell's army, like that of King David's in "the wilderness, was a medley or a collection of all parties that "were discontented, as some Courtiers, some Episcoparians, few of "any sect, but most of none, or else of the religion of Thomas "Hobbes and Dr. Scarborough; not mentioning the Papists, "who had the greatest hand in the death of King Charles the "First, the success of which made them so daring and impious, "as to contrive another most damnable and hellish plot to cut off "the life of his Sacred Majesty [Charles II.] that now is, his "royal son, and our most gracious sovereign."—The Republican OFFICERS and SOLDIERS, by Moulin's special pleading, were furnished with a good excuse for their share of criminality, in the assertion, "that the Papists had the greatest hand in the death of "the King."—See also Richard Baxter's assertion to the same effect, in page 294. The LONG PARLIAMENT was vindicated, I believe by DANIEL DE FOE, from all guilty participation in this foul deed, in the following manner: "How the LONG PARLI-"AMENT was by military force turned into *the Rump*, and reduced "to a small party of factious members, who with the army hatched "that barbarous tragedy,—is so universally attested by historians "of all sides, that he must be altogether unacquainted with those "times who does not know it. For the Parliament, who proposed "no other end in their war, than to keep the prerogative within its "just limits, and to preserve the nations from the unjust invasions "which had been made upon them by evil councillors under "colour of *Royal Authority*,—having upon a treaty obtained such "concessions from the King as they voted *satisfactory for the* "*ground of a treaty*,—were proceeding to accomplish that great and "noble work, until the *Sectarian Party* in the Army, that had "then conquered the *Commanding Part* of it, subverted and over-"turned all. 'The members,' says Coke, 'met upon the first of "'December 1648, and vote the King's concessions to be *a suffi-*"*'cient ground for peace;* and then adjourn for a week. But "'when the members were to meet again, they found all the

" ' avenues to the house beset with soldiers, who exclude all " ' which were *not of their faction* from entering the House, which " ' were not one-fourth part, and make the residue prisoners. So " ' farewell Presbytery, &c.' "

Unfortunately for the parties, who thus ingeniously tried to exculpate themselves, they were all severally guilty participators in this high offence; and though their criminality differed in degree, the members of the Long Parliament were certainly not the least culprits. (P. 406.) On this topic an eminent writer has very justly observed: " How far that part of the Parliament " which sat at Westminster were inclinable to a peace and recon- " ciliation with their most injured monarch, their voting his con- " finement to Warwick Castle, (when he was not in their hands,) " and their making choice of such a set of preachers, might be " sufficient to convince us, had we no other proofs, of their dis- " affection to their lawful sovereign. For, notwithstanding they " have been called ' A PARLIAMENT OF PATRIOTS, *who stood up* " *against tyranny both in Church and State*;' and all their pretences " from first to last were, *that they were fighting to rescue their sove-* " *reign out of the hands of wicked Councillors, and to bring him in* " *honour to his Parliament*, (a thing frequently suggested by their " preachers;) yet, besides what has been said, it is very apparent " from what follows, how consistent their public declarations and " actions were with each other. For when Mr. Nathaniel WARD, " one of their preachers, (in other respects incendiary enough!) " chanced to speak favourably of the King, and of bringing him " back to the Parliament, they did not desire him to *print his* " *sermon*, or return him *thanks for the great pains* he took, accord- " ing to custom: A favour that, I am convinced, was never " refused before, in the compass of seven years, from near two " hundred and thirty sermons I have in my custody, which were " preached before the Two Houses, from November, 1640, to " February, 1648!"

Their apologist gives the date of " the breaking-up of the Long Parliament, December 8, 1648;" and Ward's sermon was preached before the House of Commons, June 30, 1647. His text was Ezek. xix, 14; and when, in application of the words, he urged the Senators to lamentation, he addressed them in the following language:

" Let us also lament our present martial sceptre. We have slighted God's moral and evangelical law; he hath now brought us in some sort under martial law. Let us lament that so good an army should be so ill-guided, as to do what they do without warrant from God or State, so far as wise men can yet discern.

" Let us lament, that a sceptre made of so much gold and silver, and true *English* metal, should have any part of it of a *Westphalian* temper. Let us lament that such honourable and serviceable troops should have any mounted upon any saddles

of John a Leyden's make.—Let us lament that so good an army should advance toward so ill a work, at least in their shows and our fears, as to deliver a Parliament of some eminent members by a Cæsarian section.

"Let us very sadly lament, that some of them of a mechanic alloy should be so bold, as, without warrant from their chief leaders, to plunder us of our King; it was so malepart an act, an act that would have better become a John a Leyden, Knipper Dolling, or Jack Cade, than a loyal English subject! But what if the sword contemn even the rod, what? It is great pity but that sword should meet with a sound rod. If nobody else will provide it, I hope God will. But I trust, Gentlemen, some of you will call to mind what an old Roman, a wise Statesman, wrote to Marcus Brutus in the like case.

"It was too great a disparagement to make our King, who is the Lord paramount of all our freeholds, such a moveable. I believe there have been spirits in the world which would almost scorn to be King again after such a handling. If he went willingly, let us bewail his error.

"Let us lament that there should be any Korahs, Dathans, and Abirams, in an army that lays so much claim to piety.—Let us lament with much spiritual grief, that many of this army have bemeazled so many ignorant countrymen and towns, with impious and blasphemous opinions and rude manners. I marvel much, that any man who fears God closely and uprightly, should fear this army, whereof a great part is said to be so good, that surely they *will not*, and others so bad, as surely they *cannot* hurt us.

"In the first of Ezekiel, there is a description of a strange wheel; it was a wheel, and wheels, and a wheel within a wheel, and four wheels, and there were four flashing and sparkling creatures, guided by a spirit that was in the midst of them; whither the spirit went, they went. The form and motion of this wheel made the heavens look terrible. I could parallel our army to this wheel allusively, but not abusively. If they can so drive their wheels, that they overthrow not Charles his wain, nor break the axletree of the State, I mean the Parliament, and run not the wheels over some of their own loins, and can be so wise as to unload on this side Munster, before they come to battle and slaughter, I dare be bold to say, with all reverence, that either the General or Christ his General, hath more skill in carting than I ever look to have while I live.

"Let us lament, that these our brethren have embarked themselves into an act unparalleled, and an enterprize so snarled and imbranched, that, I dare say, all the eyes amongst them cannot see to the end of all its issues, by a thousand leagues. Let us seriously lament, so seriously, that we may prevent all lamentations by these our brethren and more than fellow-subjects.—

Let us lament, that such an English army have cast so much well-deserved honour in the dust, and such a black veil over the face of the Gospel.

"Let us also lament the whole State and people, who *feel* in part, but do not sufficiently *see* their sin and sorrow. The anger of the Lord was moved against the people, and moved David to sin against them. (2 Sam. xxiv, 1.) Kings can sin fast enough of themselves, and kindle fires upon themselves and the people. But usually people, by their sins, blow the coals to a flame.

"Lament, that they have a suspended King. Did they know what the Egyptian and Russian States, and what the kingdom of Fez suffered, for more than seven years together, for want of a King, they would lament to purpose.—Israel shall say, we have no King, because we feared not the Lord; what then should a King do to us? (Hos. x, 3.) He that can tell what a King should do to a people that will not fear the Lord, I could earnestly wish him our King's Vice-roy in a country that I know; I should hold him as good and as wise a man as ever was Papirius Censor. What should a King do to his people, embroiled in so many divisions, commotions, and distractions? What should a King do, in a country where there are so *many Kings* and so *few subjects*? I dare freely say, that Claudius Gordianus nor the Barbarian Hermite would not willingly at this time take the royal sceptre into their hands, though the subjects, in the plight they are, would swear fealty to them with their hearts pinned upon their tongues' ends. It may be, an Abimelech, or a Perkin, or a Michael de Lando would, if they might.

"Let us lament, that, through these distractions and people's clamours, there is not balm enough, nor sufficient physicians, left in our Gilead to recover our healths."

After this faithful warning, both to Senators and people, of the sad consequences of the army's detention of the person of their King, it cannot be said with truth, that the Long Parliament

Were guiltless of their Monarch's blood!

They could not have been induced to refuse their thanks to WARD, merely on account of the bluntness of his harangue; for several other preachers were still more caustic and severe in their personal remarks.* But the Long Parliament is generally, yet very

* The following remarks occur in a sermon preached before the House of Commons, May 26, 1647, by George Hughes:

"See the woe and weal of states. Happy land whose King is ennobled by God, and Princes made gracious, and taught by Him even to the use of meat and drink! There our Lord hath the kingdom and his Christ. But woe to that state, where a King, a child, a fool shall reign, an enemy to the Lord; and Princes lustful, gluttonous, drunken, and lascivious, such as must have a breakfast every morning in sin, shall steer by their counsels! Christ is no Lawgiver there. This is woeful: '*The people must mourn when the wicked beareth*

erroneously, depicted as that virtuous body of representatives who occupied its benches in 1640, and who opposed the aggressions of lawless power; while there is a studious concealment of the immense defections from its ranks,* which occurred in the

rule.' (Prov. xxix, 2.) They say there are such among you, if I may speak in usual terms, impious, childish, cock-pit counsellors: If so, such are bad trustees for laws, liberties, and religion. A Roman or Spartan state would provide against some of those, and not hazard kingdoms in the hands of fools: Much more should that state which is Christian. I know ye are not electors, but the scum of people send such unto you; and will spoil all your boilings, unless you take it off. It is a voice of fear, among them that love you and pray for you in the West, and other parts, *that such as could not overcome you by the sword, labour to do it by votes, even by sending such as will vote God from among you.* Ever Honoured Worthies, see if it be so; let the sight of one root of bitterness among you humble you; and now shew forth Christ ruling in you. Methinks, it is possible for a Christian Parliament, by a law, to purge and prevent such profane Paganish leaven, and to honour Christ's kingdom so much, as to make *gross sin* uncapable of a membership among you. Surely, if that be allowed, our Lord rules not; and this is woful.

"Our Lord takes no reward in judgment, neither must the stewards that act for him; such as do, He curseth. The voice of people is, there is such a fault among you. I confess, it is incredible to me, that such a Judge as a Parliament, consisting of so many heads, can be the subject of such corruption; and I am confident the body is free in judging. But it is replied, *though the judgment at last come free, yet motions many times cost men dear.* I cannot charge it upon any, and I wish that they who complain would testify to the faces of the guilty at your own bar. I am confident the just hands among you, would be against such a man, to thrust him out of your assembly."

* The same casuistry is employed by various Dissenting Historians, in speaking of the Long Parliament. Thus, BROOK, in his *Lives of the Puritans*, informs his readers, that "the members of this Parliament were *all members of the Church of England*, and nearly all advocates for Episcopal government." Richard Baxter, when writing about the impressions which HOOKER's principles had made upon him, (p. xcvii,) says, "when the war begun" he did "not hear of two Presbyterians among all" the members of that Parliament: He also employs similar language, in a preceding page, (xliii,) and says very cautiously, "they had lived in conformity."

To shew to what class of Conformists these Calvinistic or Republican *Episcopalians* belonged, one of Baxter's opponents very justly observes: "You do well, Richard, to say that 'they *had* lived in conformity;' for the complying humour was now going off apace; insomuch that a *professed opposition to the orders of the Church* became quickly a distinguishing mark of the disloyal party: And all those *Parliament men, Officers, and Assembly Divines*, contributed unanimously in their several stations toward the common ruin—On Friday, December 11, 1640, a petition was brought into the House by Alderman Pennington from the Citizens of London, in the name of 15,000, complaining of the Church discipline, in having Archbishops, Bishops, &c.; using the cross in baptism; kneeling at the Communion-table, as unlawful in the Protestant Church.—(*Diurnal Occurrences.*)—Jan. 13. Petitions against the government of Bishops from several counties.—Jan. 13. The Remonstrance with 700 hands against the Bishops and their Prelacy was read.—March 7. A Bill against Episcopacy read in the House of Commons, &c.—March 10, 1640. Bishops' Votes in Parliament taken away.—In November, 1641, several tumults against Bishops; and December 11, 12, Bishops accused of High Treason: The Bishops in the mean time petitioning his Majesty, and entering a protest of their privi-

persons of those who went over to the Royal Party, and those who retired to their estates, as soon as they discovered the intentions of the dominant members. These two classes of seceders included some of the most upright, able, discerning, and honourable men that had sat in either House of Parliament. To this circumstance Stephen MARSHALL alluded, in his sermon before the House of Lords, (and his remarks would have applied as well to the Commons,) October 28, 1646, when he said:

"When the Church is smiled upon, and countenanced by Kings and Princes, it is no marvel though wise, rich, and great men do join with it. But when wars and persecutions are raised against it, which hath most-what been the Church's lot hitherto, wonder not though wise men withdraw from it, when they can see nothing but ruin attend them who take with this side: And this is the very reason of their withdrawing; and this also abundantly satisfies me in our present trouble, wherein we have had so many Lords, so many gentlemen, so many learned men, so many great and rich men, to have deserted the cause that the Parliament was engaged in. I solemnly profess, I rather wonder that any wise man, if not sanctified, hath stayed; that any man, not guided by the Spirit of God, should venture himself in a cause that appeared so desperate as this cause of Christ hath done to the eyes of flesh and blood. I justly call it *the cause of Christ and his Church*, because it is apparent that the Parliament's engaging themselves for *reformation of Religion*, as well as *preserving Civil Liberties*, hath provoked most of these enemies against them. Therefore, let this satisfy you abundantly, when the multitude of the world generally go against the cause of Christ, they think it folly to own it, because they look upon it as a lost cause."

Stephen here plainly informs their Lordships, that all *the wise, great, learned, and rich men*, who were "notsan ctified," that is, who were not those "babes and sucklings" of Calvin's school, described in the same sermon, (p. liv,) had withdrawn from their cause; and his statement is corroborated by that of the old historian in page 361.

5.—*The Republican Statesmen, and the Arminians of the New School, were the real Fathers of Religious Toleration.*

BUT though I have awarded the highest palm of merit, talent, and integrity, to those statesmen who effected a timely retreat

leges, and against tumults.—April 9, 1642. A due and necessary Reformation of the Government and Liturgy of the Church pretended. (*Ex. Col.*)

"It is to be hoped, that all these violences upon the Ecclesiastical State, and the persons of the Bishops, were not acted by CONFORMISTS. And it will not be denied, I suppose, that, after the posting and proscribing of the greater part of the Clergy's friends, (as well as the King's,) the schismatical interest was carried on by the major vote of the remaining fragment; and all this was *before the eruption of the war*; the Earl of Essex not receiving his commission, till July 12, 1642. Unless you'll say that *Episcopal men themselves were for the extirpation of Bishops!!*"

from the *arena* of faction and sedition, yet I consider it one of the many *mercies*, mixed with the distinguished *judgments* of those days, that some men of piety, honour, ability, and discernment, were left in both Houses, to keep down the bold aspirings of the Calvinistic divines, and to check the arrogance of "the fanatics" among their own members. They contrived for some time to keep the two great rival sects of Calvinists in abeyance; but, having commenced the war out of hatred to Archbishop Laud, as the chief and most responsible adviser of King Charles, and under the semblance of *religious zeal* against POPERY and ARMINIANISM, (a most discordant association!) they either did not always possess the power, or did not on every occasion account it politic, to protect, in the exercise of their religious privileges, the professors of General Redemption, who were almost universally attached to Episcopacy. The proceedings against "scandalous ministers," in 1643, were directed entirely against the Arminian Clergy: For the profession of their scriptural tenets was considered one of the greatest public "scandals" of the age; and there is scarcely an instance on record, of an Arminian Clergyman retaining his benefice, during the heat of that inquisition, except through the patronage of some nobleman or official person in the government, who possessed influence with the party, and exerted it in behalf of the sufferers. Yet, in the course of other ten years, it was discovered, that the number of the Clergy who had embraced the doctrines of Arminius was greatly increased: A fresh inquisition was therefore instituted, in 1653, against those excellent men, many of whom were cast out by the Commission of EJECTORS, while Arminian candidates for Holy Orders were effectually prevented from entering the ministry by the cognate Commission of TRIERS.

In the history of religious intolerance it ought always to be remembered, that this second hot inquisition against Arminianism (in 1653) was undertaken at the earnest solicitation and under the immediate conduct of the INDEPENDENTS; and that the first, in 1643, was by the advice and under the direction of the PRESBYTERIANS. Whether under the forms of Independency or Presbytery, therefore, the CALVINISTS adhered throughout to their first grand principle of persecuting the Episcopalians: And the number of the latter, who were also converts to the doctrinal system of Arminius in the latter days of the Commonwealth, has been egregiously under-rated by all the Predestinarian historians of that period. But in some of the following pages, (788 and 803,) I have afforded the reader two important criteria by which to form an accurate judgment of their astonishing increase. Evidence of the immense numbers of Arminians and Episcopalians under persecution, has also been already adduced from Calvinistic writers, (pp. lix, lxiii, lxxvi,) and other curious testimonies will given in the second volume.

In no proper sense, then, can THE PURITANS be said to have been "the fathers of English Liberty," unless the term is intended to apply to the Statesmen, who, as Erastians or Independents, as orthodox Christians or as undisguised Deists, (pp. 779—781,) controlled as far as practicable, the impetuosity of the Predestinarian Ecclesiastics, though, to effect their own purposes and to preserve the peace of the realm, they were occasionally forced to comply with some of their intolerant humours. To the patriotic and praiseworthy exertions of these individuals, in the Senate, in the Assembly of Divines, in the Army, and in the subordinate departments of Government, I have done ample justice, in pages 352, 400, 436, 444, 448, 452, 469, 779, &c.—From the letters and private papers which they have left, several of them seem to have been really noble-minded, though, like other mortals, they did not always perceive the course and issue of the measures which they advised or adopted, and in which they had unhappily involved themselves; and, from this source, impure in some respects as it certainly was, the streamlets of British Freedom, civil and religious, first began to flow in that disturbed period. The first principles of liberty were then discussed with great ability in the writings of some accomplished laymen, whose religious sentiments were exceedingly loose; while John Goodwin,* Tobias Conyers, the General Baptists, and the

* The following extract, from the preface to GOODWIN'S *Banner of Justification displayed*, will prove, that the labours of this great man and of his coadjutors had been extensively useful and highly approved:

"Whereas my accuser chargeth me with *having my hand against all men*, neither is he orthodox in this, unless he takes sanctuary under the wing of the good figure *Synecdoche*, which hath had a privilege, time out of mind, to grant a pardon to men for this delinquency in speaking, viz. when meaning only *some*, they say *all*; or intending only *a part*, yet mention or name *the whole*. But it is a good sign on the Truth's side when her enemies retreat and flee to their PATHETICALS: For this argues, that their INTELLECTUALS fall short, and that their heart serveth them not to confide in them any further.—Yet I cannot but mention this by the way, as matter of sad consideration, although of too frequent occurrency, that men,—who have competent gifts and parts of wit and learning, whereby they might serve their generation and be useful unto many, yet suffering themselves to be over-grown with a conceit *that these gifts and parts are far greater than they are*,—they hereby stifle their opportunity, and give hostages unto *sin and Satan* that they will never do any great matters against them!

"The remaining article of his charge—*that I have provoked all men, even to the common pamphleteer, to lift up a hand against me*,—will keep him out of the New Jerusalem also, without the mediation of the said figure *Synecdoche*: See *Revelations* xxi, 27, xxii, 15. I know it would be offensive to the gentleman, if I should relate how many letters, and messages otherwise,—of thankful acknowledgments of the grace of God given unto me for the clearing of those doctrines of Election, Reprobation, &c., and of Christian encouragement to proceed in my way, &c.,—I have received, time after time, from several persons of considerable worth for godliness and knowledge, inhabiting in several parts of the nation, some of them ministers of the Gospel, and others of them students in the University of good standing, &c. But because such a story as this would, I presume, be a heavy burden to a tender and weak shoulder, I shall forbear it. In the mean

Arminian members of their Independent Churches, promulgated throughout the land their truly catholic opinions on the subject of Toleration.—Milton, Selden, and others, had digested HALES's Tract *on Schism*, and were familiar with some of the most admired productions of the Dutch Arminians: Yet as the war against the King had been undertaken with the avowed intention of *rendering the religion of the English people more uniformly Calvinistic*, these politicians were aware that they could not succeed with the more clamorous part of the nation, unless they permitted themselves to be constantly addressed as Calvinists. Cromwell was accustomed to excuse himself to his intimate friends, for this easy compliance with the Calvinistic humour, by saying, *I must talk to these men after their own way!* "This created in his relative, Mr. Waller, [the Poet,] an opinion, that Oliver secretly despised those whom he seemed to court:" And a similar aversion must have been ultimately produced on the minds of all enlightened men, who had transactions with such servile individuals.

Whether the ears of the republican Statesmen had been so accustomed to the sweet and soothing strains of their Calvinistic flatterers, (who, it is seen, occasionally became their fierce accusers,) or whether loyal Arminianism was known to be of too unbending a character to stoop to such a degrading employment, certain it is, that all divines of the three great denominations who laboured even under any suspicion of being Arminians, were carefully excluded from the court-pulpits till the period of the Restoration. John Goodwin's early services had been of vast importance to the cause of the infant Republic, but he was badly remunerated for them: If any Arminian, therefore, was entitled to stand up as a court-preacher, John was, without doubt, that individual. The liberal sentiments, however, which he had then

time, Mr. Hickman must give me leave to tell him and all the world this plain story, that I know certainly, infallibly, above and beyond all possibility of mistake, that he spake not by the Spirit of God when he said, *that my hand hath provoked all men, even to the common pamphleteer*, &c. He is an Athenian, and seems to have some sympathy in blood with him that laid claim to *all the ships*, that came into Piræus, as HIS OWN. But he may know, if he please, that there are seven thousand, (and seven thousand more to them twice told,) amongst the Israel of God in this nation, who either never bowed the knee of their judgment to the bloody Moloch of his Reprobation nor to any of his confederates, or else have repented of that superstitious and unadvised homage!"

After all the harsh measures employed by the Calvinists, Arminianism could never be eradicated out of our two Universities. On this subject, T. HODGES made the following remarks before the Commons, March 10, 1646:

"Take special care of our Fountains, the Universities, that learning may be encouraged; and [that] doctrines contrary to soundness of faith, or [to] holiness of life and manners, be wholly there suppressed. For want of this, because there have been errors in the first concoction, they could never, in many, be mended to this present day; but many congregations have been poisoned with Arminianism, Socinianism, yea, downright Popery. It was the milk they sucked in at the University from ill tutors; and their people must either take that or none, for they have no better to give them."

recently embraced, excluded him effectually from the favour of the great Republicans;* and while pastors of far inferior talents basked in the sunshine of Whitehall, this highly-gifted person, though an Independent, was suffered, after many struggles, to instruct his congregation in comparative privacy and quietness. Many of the stories circulated concerning him, after the murder of King Charles the First, evidently belong to Dr. Thomas Goodwin, who, in the capacity of chaplain to the Protector, was a man of eminence, while the doctrinal views of his reputed relative precluded him from all such marks of Puritanic distinction. But though the English Arminians gained no ill-scented laurels of this kind, numbers of their opponents stood ready to receive the commands of their political superiors.

Many circumstances concurred to render those of the Arminian Clergy who either adhered to Episcopacy, or were recent converts to it, a neglected race. They could not boldly refer, like many of the Puritan Divines before both the Houses, (pp. lii, lxi,) to any previous mighty stirrings on their part in the cause of sedition; for they were then under persecution, principally on account of well-tried loyalty to their sovereign, and of warm attachment to the ancient institutions of their country. They had no clerical friends at the Republican Court, who could give a modest hint in their favour,—as Vines the Presbyterian has done (p. lxv,) for his Calvinistic brethren "the pure Independents," when all other resisters of Predestinarian ordinances were ominously compared to "the Egyptian striving with the Israelite, *whom Moses smites down;*"—or as Marshall has done, (p. lxxvi,) when describing "the horrible errors" of the times, he excepts

* Speaking of the great benefit which Mr. Hickman or any of his Calvinist friends would confer on him, by producing such arguments against his theological tenets as would "put him to a stand," John Goodwin says, "They would be the best benefactors unto me in the good things of this world, that I have met with these many years. Especially they would have been such unto me, had they befriended me in that kind heretofore, whilst and when I was more capable of the courtesies and benefactures of the world than now I am, expecting daily to remove into that climate where the sunshine of this world hath no warming or cheering influence at all. For certain I am, that those [Arminian] tenets, from under the conscience whereof I might well have been delivered by the means specified, have divided between the world and me, and kept many of the good things thereof from me, by reason of their unsupportableness unto the greater part of men, and more especially unto the great men in the state of my sojourning, and to those who, by their consent, (yea, they love to have it so,) exercise dominion over their faith, under the importune claim of being *orthodox, and sound in their judgments from the one end of them even unto the other, in matters appertaining unto God.* I have neither any disposition within, nor occasion without, to turn plaintiff against the world; a man with a competency of wisdom may very well be content with my portion in it. For my good God hath fed me and mine, with food convenient, yea, and clothed and harboured us accordingly: And the truth is, that, for things greater than these, it is best receiving them at the Resurrection."—Goodwin's *Banner of Justification displayed.*

"such as are to be found among GOD'S PEOPLE, to whom He never hath given an equal light, and notwithstanding which errors, Himself bears with them, and would have HIS PEOPLE *bear one with another!*" On the contrary, Marshall points out in the same discourse, not the old silenced ministers, but a "new generation of men" who were then "risen up and spread all the points of Arminianism, Universal Redemption," &c. as those whom the "Lord had not given" the Parliament "liberty to forbear." When the Calvinists alone were thus numbered and treated as "God's people," though according to their own eloquent descriptions they were surrounded with swarms of heretics and unbelievers, of their own or of the Parliament's formation, (pp. xlii, lvi,) we cannot wonder at the ignorant admiration of those "blessed days" which has been expressed by certain of the ill-informed of their modern successors.*—Some persons have said,

* Mr. ORME, in his *Life of Dr. Owen*, gives the subjoined glowing account of that period: "During the Commonwealth, no system of church-government can be considered, as having been properly, or fully established. The Presbyterians, if any, enjoyed this distinction. But the ministers who occupied the parish churches, were of very various sentiments. Many of them were secret friends to the old Episcopacy and the liturgy. Many were for a reformed Episcopal government. Others thought no form of ecclesiastical polity of Divine right, or gave themselves no concern about the matter. Some were Independents, and a few were Baptists. Cromwell's policy encouraged this diversity, as he dreaded the ascendancy of any one party. If the ministers attended to their own duty, and did not interfere with his affairs, whatever their sentiments were on church government, it did not prevent the enjoyment of his favour. This state of things may be considered anarchy and confusion by many, but it may be questioned, whether the great ends of the gospel ministry were ever more effectually accomplished in this country, than during this period. No sacrifice of conscience was demanded—no encroachments on religious liberty were practised—no bounds were prescribed to zealous exertion for the good of the souls of men. Every man sat under his vine and his fig-tree without fear. The word of the Lord had free course and was glorified."

If, by "the great ends of the *Gospel Ministry*," Mr. Orme means "the great ends" which Calvinism then had in view,—the attainment of political power and of ecclesiastical patronage,—his assertion will be correct; for never were those "ends more effectually accomplished in this country, than during this period," by one race of Predestinarians or another. But, if "the great ends" of converting sinners from the error of their ways, and of teaching them to lead holy and quiet lives, be those which he intends, the preceding copious extracts from the sermons of Calvinistic pastors will prove, that these good effects were not produced by the promulgation of their peculiar doctrines; and that the nation at large was, under their management, in a state of deeper moral wretchedness than in the days of the Bishops.

But the concluding sentences of Mr. Orme's remarkable paragraph are untrue, and could never have been written by any man minutely acquainted with the history of that æra. The assertions are untrue as they regard the conduct of the dominant Calvinistic sects towards each other; for their mutual complaints and recriminations were concerning attempted "sacrifices of conscience" and "encroachments on religious liberty." But they are most glaringly untrue with regard to Episcopalians and Arminians, who, after Cromwell had seized the reins of empire, constituted no inconsiderable portion of the people whom he ruled with a rod of iron. Were no "demands" made to *sacrifice conscience*, when Epis-

" that if the ministers of the gospel attended to their own duty, " and did not interfere with Cromwell's affairs, whatever might " be their sentiments on church-government, they were not ex- " cluded from the enjoyment of his favour." Adopting this as an undoubted maxim, many amiable writers have been led to suppose, that as the Protector's persecuting ordinance of 1655 was particularly directed against the Episcopal Clergy, they were a race of divines, as seditious and pragmatical as those by whom they had been supplanted. The reverse of this will, however, be found to be correct; and when the great number of Episcopalians, who had been ejected from the ministry in 1643, are added to the hosts of young men, who, in the latter days of the Republic, were prevented from entering into Holy Orders on account of their Arminian principles, they present to the world the grand spectacle of a company of courageous yet humble sufferers, worthy

copalians were ejected from their livings, for their conscientious attachment to the Liturgy? What was the nature of the Calvinistic *Covenant*, which, in 1643, was appointed by Parliamentary Ordinance to be taken? " It was the test of the " faction. No man was allowed to practise the Law, no man admitted into the " Ministry, that had not taken it; and it was imposed, under a penalty, upon " the whole nation. Then, after the taking of it, it was made DEATH for any " man to return to his allegiance [to his King]; and all the deserters of the con- " spiracy, that were murdered under a form of justice, were put to death for " *Breach of Covenant!*" Omitting all mention of the *Engagement* and other *Republican Oaths*, how can Mr. Orme venture to say, that " no sacrifice of conscience was demanded," when this *solemn League and Covenant* became an intolerable burden to his own denomination? Were " no encroachments practised on religious liberty," and did " every man sit under his own vine and fig-tree without fear," when a whole congregation of Episcopalian believers was interrupted and seized by armed soldiers, while in the solemn act of receiving the memorials of their Saviour's death? (P. 451.) And can " no bounds" be said to have been " prescribed to zealous exertion for the good of the souls of men," when, in the early days of the Inter-regnum, the Presbyterian discipline was established by Parliamentary ordinance throughout England,—and when in Cromwell's time the Independents, by means of the cognate Commissions of " Triers and Ejectors," opened and shut the door of preferment to other denominations? " The word of the Lord had *free course*," indeed, and was often quoted for the encouragement of seditious and rebellious enterprizes before the Long Parliament itself: But the vapid manner in which it was " glorified" under their administration, the Puritans themselves have described in the preceding pages.

The following brief allusion to the liberty of Cromwell's æra is more correct than the description given by Mr. Orme. It was written by a man, whose grandfather and great-grandfather were actors in those turbulent scenes, and whose father was early initiated in the same principles. (See pages 812—815.) In his *Calm Address*, on the subject of the American War, the Rev. John WESLEY says: " Do not you observe, on the other hand, the perfect liberty which we enjoy? Not, indeed, derived from our forefathers, as some writers idly talk. No; our forefathers never enjoyed it, either before or after William the Conqueror, and least of all in the time of the Long Parliament or under Oliver Cromwell. English Liberty commenced at the REVOLUTION. And how entire is it at this day! Every man says what he will, writes what he will, prints what he will. Every man worships God, (if he worships him at all,) as he is persuaded in his own mind."

of the early days of Christianity. On this subject, one of the most eminent men among them published the following remarks in the days of Cromwell: "Since *the latter spring of* REFORMATION in England, I am confident there is not one instance of any one Bishop or Episcopal Divine, that either wrote or instigated any christian subjects to act, upon any religious pretensions, contrary to the rules of civil subjection to that Prince or State under which they lived; no, not to bring in or restore Episcopacy itself, which hath far more pleas for it from Catholic antiquity and universal prescription, &c. together with its own ancient, catholic and national rights, which aggravate its injuries, and exasperate men's spirits. Yet these are not enough to animate or heighten Episcopacy, so far as to make or restore its way into any Nation, Church, State, or Kingdom, by armed power or tumultuary violence, against the will of the Chief Magistrate or the laws in force. It humbly attends God's time, and the sovereign's pleasure, for its reception or restitution."

Mr. Scott's remark is exceedingly just, (p. xlvii.) these "designing sagacious leaders knew how to avail themselves of the prejudices" of the different Calvinistic pastors: And when one Republican General or Erastian member of Parliament was allowed to nominate the preacher of a Fast-day sermon before either of the Houses, as an expounder of the principles of the Independent persuasion, a similar privilege was claimed and exercised on the next solemn occasion by a Presbyterian divine, under the patronage of some General or Statesman of his denomination. Though much artifice was apparent in thus opposing the liberal and occasionally licentious opinions of the Independents to the intolerance of the Presbyterians, yet many benefits resulted from the practice. The violent conflicts, between the extreme opinions of the two parties, produced at length a happy medium; and Christian moderation about *things indifferent* began to find some countenance. These, however, were but the infant struggles of British Liberty; and, in the twenty years immediately succeeding the Restoration, the legal rights of a free people were better understood, and gained a glorious triumph at the Revolution in 1688.* (See page 692.)

* The Episcopal Clergy of those days shewed themselves the consistent and intrepid admirers of "the new sect of the LATITUDE-MEN." Even some of those who had been eminent Tories, were, on that occasion, carried out beyond the narrow principles which they had imbibed; they loudly declaimed against, and manfully resisted, the attacks of Popery and Tyranny. The following extract from Bishop HEBER will prove, that those eminent Whig Divines have still able successors in the Church of England:

"Taylor, however, makes another admission, which, if his life had been prolonged a few more years, might have involved him in a very serious difficulty of conscience; and would have divided him, if he had acted on it, from all the best and wisest of his own order and religion: 'The unlawful proclamations and edicts of a true prince may be published by the Clergy in their several

In a succeeding page, (690,) I have said, "It would be singular, indeed, and a circumstance altogether anomalous in the moral history of mankind, were those narrow principles which are peculiar to Calvinism accounted the parents of a liberal Toleration, either civil or religious." One of the best-informed of modern Calvinists, (p. 802,) has on this subject made the following just remark: "The same temper of mind which led Armi-"nius to renounce the peculiarities of Calvinism, induced him "also to adopt *more enlarged and liberal views of church-govern-*"*ment* than those which had hitherto prevailed. While he main-"tained, 'that the mercy of God is not confined to *a chosen few*,' "he conceived it to be quite inconsistent with the genius of "Christianity, that men of that religion should keep at a distance "from each other, and constitute separate churches, *merely* "*because they differed in their opinions as to some of its doctrinal* "*articles*."—This is the principle which runs through "the ever-memorable HALES's" tract *on Schism*, and which that great man defended, both in person and by letter,* to Archbishop Laud:

'charges!'—I wish I had not found this in Taylor; and I thank heaven, that this principle was not adopted by the English Clergy in 1687. Yet, for Taylor, many allowances may be made; and many excuses offered for this and the other ultra-monarchical features of his creed. Accustomed as he was to see and feel all the tyranny which then plagued the land, from those who, under the colour of freedom, had disturbed and enslaved their country, it was hardly to be expected that his attention could be equally alive to the possibility of the same evils occurring under a legitimate Sovereign. And, above all, let it be remembered, that his inclination for absolute monarchy, if it were unwise, was, at least, not interested or servile; that if he carried too high the power of a lawful king, it was when that lawful king was in exile. The *Ductor Dubitantium*, though published at the moment of the Restoration, was written and printed while no such event could be looked for, and when all that could be gained by an unlimited loyalty, was the suspicion or persecution of the ruling powers,—imprisonment, fine, and aggravated indigence."

* As every fact connected with this small treatise is important, I subjoin the narrative, which Lord Clarendon has given us in the account of his own LIFE, of the personal interview between Hales and Archbishop Laud: "Nothing troubled him more than the brawls which were grown from religion; and he therefore exceedingly detested the tyranny of the Church of Rome, more for their imposing uncharitably upon the consciences of other men, than for the errors in their own opinions; and would often say, 'that he would renounce the religion 'of the Church of England to-morrow, if it obliged him to believe that any other 'Christians should be damned; and that nobody would conclude another man 'to be damned, who did not wish him so.' No man more strict and severe to himself; to other men so charitable as to their opinions, that he thought that other men were more in fault for their carriage towards them, than the men themselves were who erred; and he thought that pride and passion, more than conscience, were the cause of all separation from each other's communion; and he frequently said, 'that that only kept the world from agreeing upon such a 'Liturgy, as might bring them into one communion; all doctrinal points upon 'which men differed in their opinions, being to have no place in any Liturgy.' Upon an occasional discourse with a friend, of the frequent and uncharitable reproaches of *Heretick* and *Schismatick*, too lightly thrown at each other, amongst men who differ in their judgment, he writ a little *Discourse of Schism*, contained

His boldness and consistency did not alienate the affections of the Prelate from him, nor did they prevent him from obtaining high ecclesiastical patronage. That tract had been very extensively circulated, especially among his Arminian friends, either in manuscript or in print, without Hales's privity or consent, five

in less than two sheets of paper: which, being transmitted from friend to friend in writing, was at last, without any malice, brought to the view of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Laud, who was a very rigid surveyor of all things which never so little bordered upon schism; and thought the Church could not be too vigilant against and jealous of such incursions.

"He sent for Mr. Hales, whom, when they had both lived in the University of Oxford, he had known well; and told him, that he had in truth believed him to be long since dead; and chid him very kindly for having never come to him, having been of his old acquaintance; then asked him, whether he had lately writ a short *Discourse of Schism*, and whether he was of that opinion which that discourse implied? He told him, 'that he had, for the satisfaction of a private 'friend, (who was not of his mind,) a year or two before, writ such a small tract, 'without any imagination that it would be communicated; and that he believed 'it did not contain any thing that was not agreeable to the judgment of the 'primitive Fathers.' Upon which, the Archbishop debated with him upon some expressions of Irenæus, and the most ancient Fathers; and concluded with saying, 'that the time was very apt to set new doctrines on foot, of which the 'wits of the age were too susceptible; and that there could not be too much care 'taken to preserve the peace and unity of the Church;' and from thence asked him of his condition, and whether he wanted any thing, and the other answering, *that he had enough, and wanted or desired no addition*, so dismissed him with great courtesy; and shortly after sent for him again, when there was a Prebendary of Windsor fallen, and told him, the King had given him the preferment, because it lay so convenient to his Fellowship of Eton; which, (though indeed the most convenient preferment that could be thought of for him,) the Archbishop could not, without great difficulty, persuade him to accept; and he did accept it rather to please him than himself, because he really believed he had enough before. He was one of the least men in the kingdom, and one of the greatest scholars in Europe. Mr. Chillingworth was of a stature little superior to Mr. Hales, and it was an age in which there were many great and wonderful men of that size."

It is probable, that, in this conversation, the Archbishop had pointed out to him the disregard which he had evinced towards *Christian Antiquity* in that tract, and the undue slight which he had put upon *Church-authority*. On both these points he explained himself in a letter, which is supposed to have survived the wreck of the learned Prelate's papers. "Whereas," he says, "in one "point, speaking of church-authority, I bluntly added, *which is none;* I must "acknowledge it was *incautiously* spoken; and, being taken in a generality, is "false,—though, as it refers to the occasion which I there fell upon, it is (as I "think I may safely say,) most true.—I count, in point of *decision of church-*"*questions*, if I say of the authority of the Church that *it is none*, I know no "adversary that I have, the Church of Rome only excepted. For this cannot "be true, except we make the Church *judge of controversies;* the contrary of "which we generally maintain against that Church."

The Archbishop, who loved frankness and hated an untruth even when uttered with a jocose intent, (p. 709,) admired Hales for his meek, yet manly, spirit, and took him under his protection. His Grace knew the source from which Hales's aversion to *church-authority* sprung, and which he had imbibed through disgust at what he had seen of the unwarrantable assumptions of the Dort Synodists. See page 579, in which the Archbishop's conduct towards Hales and Chillingworth is satisfactorily explained.

years prior to the Archbishop's downfall and the beginning of the Civil Wars. * The salutary effects which it produced on the mind of Jeremy Taylor, who was then a mere youth, were soon afterwards manifest in his "Liberty of Prophesying:" an able defence of which, from the nervous pen of Bishop Heber, will be found in page 808. What effects Hales's tract produced upon the minds of many other moderate men of different religious persuasions, during the Commonwealth, is apparent in the numerous quotations which they gave from its pages; but its fruits were most conspicuous in the writings and opinions of the new race of Arminians, who then arose in England, and who are well described by Mosheim under the name of "Latitudinarians."—(See pages 789—800.)

But those earlier Episcopal Divines whose theology was applied to practical purposes, rather than to nice Predestinarian disquisitions, were more decided friends to religious liberty than their Calvinistical cotemporaries. Such great men as Bishops Hooper, Bilson, Andrews, and Overal, Dr. Saravia, and Richard Hooker, might with the strictest propriety have been called "Arminians," had Arminianism, in their youthful days, had an existence as a system of religious doctrines. But they, and multitudes of other moderate and learned Divines, who were generally styled "Augustinians," thought it quite sufficient if they adhered to the first and sounder opinions of St. Augustine on Predestination, which had a sanctifying and practical tendency, and which Arminius himself never exceeded. The grand enemy, with whom the chief of these great men were compelled to contend, was the Papist; and in managing the usual arguments against him, especially that first of rational Protestant axioms, "THE BIBLE ALONE IS THE RELIGION OF PROTESTANTS," and the absence of an infallible interpreter, they naturally learned and gave expression to the most liberal sentiments.† These tole-

* It is said, by Wood, to have been written at the particular desire of his friend Chillingworth, when the latter was engaged in the composition of his immortal book, *the Religion of Protestants*, which was commenced in 1634, and printed in 1637. Hales's tract must therefore have been in circulation, at least nine years before the murder of the Archbishop.

† In the year 1617, the amiable Bishop Overal, having congratulated Grotius, in a letter, on "the bright prospect, which then shone, of *greater concord and more Christian toleration* among the Dutch Divines," added the following just remarks: "But I am unable adequately to express my astonishment, that there are some persons among us in England who indulge such a dreadful antipathy against your party, [the Arminians,] since it was long ago acknowledged, in our arguments against the Papists,—as is sufficiently manifest among us from the publication of JEWEL's *Apology*,—'that these dissensions of Protestants do not 'relate to the *principles*, *foundations*, or *heads* of our own religion, but to 'lighter *matters* and questions of *less importance*.' I hear that a certain treatise by the present Bishop of Salisbury, who is the Archbishop of Canterbury's brother, has been some time in the press. It is written against the Arminians and THOMSON's *Diatribe*. At this circumstance I am not much surprised,

rant opinions, however, became somewhat reduced in Catholic amplitude when the same individuals were under the necessity of defending the Church, of whose UNITY in too restricted a sense they were profound admirers, against the incroachments of the Presbyterians and Brownists. Yet it is remarkable, that Richard Hooker, who wrote against both parties, (the Papists and the Disciplinarian brethren,) is far more liberal and tolerant in his views of Religious Liberty than Richard Baxter,* Bishop Overal than Dr. Lightfoot, (p. 467,) Dr. Hammond than Dr. John Owen,

siuce he formerly defended PERKINS and his *Reformed Catholic*. How desirable, that we should discuss and determine Theological matters, and those questions which concern the Christian Faith, not according to party prepossessions and private opinions or feelings, but according to the sure Word of God, and the consent of the Ancient Church! We might then entertain better hopes about Evangelical Truth and Concord."

* In BAXTER'S *Second Admonition to Bagshaw*, he enumerates some of the faults committed by himself during the Civil Wars, of which he then saw cause to repent:

"I do repent, (again,) that I no more discouraged the spirit of peevish quarrelling with Superiors and Church-orders; and (though I ever *distiked and opposed* it, yet) that I sometimes *did too much encourage* such as were of this temper, by speaking too sharply against those things which I thought to be *Church-corruptions;* and was too loth to displease the *contentious*, for fear of being uncapable to do them good, (knowing the *profane* to be much worse than they,) and meeting with too few religious persons that were not too much pleased with such invectives.

"I do repent also, that I had not more impartially and diligently consulted with the best *Lawyers* that were against the Parliament's cause; (for I know of no controversy in *Divinity* about it, but in *Politics* and *Law;*) and that I did not use all possible means of full acquaintance with the case:—And that, for a little while, the authority of such writers as Mr. RICHARD HOOKER, (Lib. i, *Eccles. Polit.*,) and Bishop BILSON, and other Episcopal Divines, did too much sway my judgment toward the principles of POPULAR POWER:—And, seeing the Parliament *Episcopal* and *Erastian;* and not hearing, when the war began, of two Presbyterians among them all, nor among all their Lord Lieutenants, Generals, Major-Generals, or Colonels, till long after; I was the easilier drawn to think, that HOOKER'S *Political Principles* had been commonly received by all; *which* I discovered soon after, upon stricter enquiry, to be *unsound*, and have myself written *a confutation of them!*"

This quotation is exceedingly important, for other reasons than that of shewing *the more tolerant character of the writings of Hooker and Bilson:* It corroborates the remarks which I have made (page 379) upon Baxter's casuistry, about *the authority to which the allegiance of the people was due.* It is likewise highly confirmatory of the correct view which I have given, (in pages 563 and 728,) of *the true difference between Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion.* I have there shewn how "the Puritans and the minor sects, in 1640, in the capacity of CHRISTIANS, enrolled themselves under the banners of sedition." Baxter, though full of subterfuges on this point in several of his writings, here plainly owns, "that the controversy about the *Parliament's Cause* "was not in DIVINITY, but in POLITICS and LAW." If Richard, therefore, had again entered on his republican career, and had resumed his former fighting attitudes, he would have done so, not on principles of *Divinity*, (for by such rebellious acts he would have *unchristianized* himself, according to his own shewing,) but on principles of *Law* and *Politics;* that is, merely as "a man of the world."

(pp. 413, 416, 654,) and even Archbishop Laud (pp. 575, 577,) than that lusty pleader for Presbyterian Toleration, Stephen Marshall!

6.—*Specimen of an Arminian Sermon before the Long Parliament.*

Among the numerous anomalies perceptible in the fashionable Calvinism of the Civil Wars, was that of its being suddenly transformed into a system of powerful motives to activity. The stirring and astute preachers before the Republican Senators, with scarcely one exception, called them to the diligent performance of public duties; and, instead of encouraging them to rely on their *personal irrespective election*, (as they had formerly been accustomed to encourage others,) they saw it to be their province, as well as their interest, to give plain and broad intimations to their political superiors, that *their acceptance with the Almighty*, and consequently *their future salvation*, depended materially upon the conscientious and able manner in which they discharged their high functions. Several traces of this strange yet wily transformation of Calvinism may be seen in the preceding pages, and a still greater number might readily be produced. In some instances, the system seemed to be absolutely changed into the ancient legal one of "*Do this, and live;*" and the attempts to prevent its assuming such an appearance were exceedingly clumsy and awkward.* This strenuous mode of exciting men to the performance of their duties, had those duties been of *a lawful kind*, would have been strictly Arminian; and the men by whom

* To give one instance out of many,—Thomas Valentine, preaching before the House of Commons, Sept. 29, 1647, took for his text, Rev. iii, 18, "*I counsel thee to buy of me gold, and white raiment,*" *&c.*, applied the doctrine in the following manner:

"To *counsel us* is a rational way, and fit to work upon a man; and God, that tries always to do us good, takes this course to counsel us. '*I have drawn thee with cords of a man and bands of love.*' (Hos. xi, 4.) I have dealt with thee, *more humano;* for man is counselable, but so is not a beast. *Coge pecus*, you force a beast; but man is to be persuaded. Speak reason and express love, and you cannot be despised or slighted; reason cannot be gainsayed. Though the man will not confess he is conquered by your argument, yet the understanding secretly must assent, and love cannot be contemned; the party may, but love cannot. But when the wise God shall speak reason, and manifest his love, we should not despise his counsel.—It is very fit and proper for the action of buying, you should not be *compelled* to buy the commodities here offered; but you shall use your reason, whether a poor man should not do all he can to get good gold, and a naked man clothing."

This is all very good, and strictly Arminian. But, to remove all misapprehension on the subject, Valentine adds, in the next sentence: "But here I must needs explain this point, lest we should think that *a man were left to his own liberty* in the point of his conversion; and this simile of *counselling to buy* must not be extended beyond the scope. And we say, that the will of man is over-ruled and overpowered by the Spirit of Christ, *so as it cannot but come in* upon the offer of grace; and the will is determined to one thing, *not left to itself* to take or refuse what is tendered to it. And it is no absurdity, (whatever Arminians think,) to say, 'In the conversion of a sinner, there is a violence offered 'to the corruption of the will, and yet the will not wronged; a suspending of 'the liberty of the will, and no destroying of it!'"

they were inculcated, really, though undesignedly, assisted in the propagation of a religion of motives, conditions, and duties, and of corresponding rewards and punishments,—which, *when severally propounded according to the lively oracles of God*, constitute pure and unsophisticated Arminianism.* On many subsequent

* This remarkable circumstance is mentioned in the following eloquent and humourous manner, by John GOODWIN, in his very able pamphlet entitled *The Banner of Justification displayed*, which was published in 1659:

"Christian Reader, I well know with which of my hands these papers are offered unto thine: But I am somewhat doubtful with which of thine they will be received. For I am far from judging thee unworthy the salutation of *Christian*, because my thoughts may not be thine in matters of a more arduous and difficult contemplation. Only the evil genius of these times worketh so effectually, acteth so imperiously, yea, tyrannically in the minds and fancies of many, that it permits them not the use of their right hand in receiving any thing from another, which is not already an ingredient in the composition or body of their faith. But persons of this character seem, not so much to desire to be free from error, as to presume themselves so to be. The cross of Arminius is grown so heavy amongst us, and the generality of professors so weak, that the greater part of them are not able to take it up, though TRUTH be tied fast to it, and the burden of it hereby made much more easy and light. Yet, if many of those who occupy the places of the learned, were not more contradictious than their opinions, or, at least, than many of their sayings, the cross we speak of would soon be abolished, and the offence of the innocent doctrine, disguised with the vizard of ARMINIANISM put upon the face of it, would presently cease. And the certain truth is, that the unhappy dividing character—between those who, measuring themselves by themselves, call themselves *orthodox*,—and those whom, because they cannot and do not measure themselves by their measure, they vote *Arminian*,—doth not stand in this, (as most men take for granted,) viz. 'that the latter hold or teach things contrary unto or 'inconsistent with the doctrines or opinions, delivered and taught by the former;' but rather in this, that the latter, [the Arminians,] in their judgment and doctrine, are YEA and AMEN, the former [the Calvinists] YEA and NAY. My meaning is, that the latter [the Arminians] are more uniform, steady, and coherent with themselves in their notions and doctrines; whereas the former [the Calvinists] are desultory, and themselves as it were possessed of a spirit of *Amphibology*, which sometimes taketh and casteth them into the fire of Calvinism, and otherwhile into the waters of Arminianism so called. And this declaring of themselves, *toties quoties* and from time to time, for the *Contra-remonstrant tenets*, is their expiatory sacrifice, to cleanse them from the guilt of being thought Arminian, notwithstanding their never so palpable and clear asserting the *Remonstrant principles* at other times. Yea, let the minister commit the foul crime of Arminianism never so openly in one part of his sermon, and but do penance in a fair contradiction in another part of it, hereby he stands *rectus in curia*: ORTHODOXISM and SOUNDNESS IN THE FAITH are imputed unto him. Yet it is no great matter of commendation for such men to be orthodox, who, if truth lieth in either part of the contradiction, (as it always doth, and of necessity must,) will be sure, I cannot say so properly *to hold it*, but *to teach it*. Whereas they who shall, in their doctrine, deliver the express matter and substance of what was taught by the other, yea, though they should deliver it in the self-same words and expressions, yet, unless they shall ever and anon be pulling down with their left hand what in this kind they build up with their right, they shall be debtors, and be compelled to bear the cross of CHRIST, under the name and notion of *Arminius*. That *whosoever believeth in Jesus Christ shall be saved*, is the frequent, constant, and most avouched doctrine of those men whose eye is so evil, against their brethren, for standing at the left hand, as they suppose, of the Truth in the

occasions, Calvinism has been compelled to abandon for a season her theory of personal Quietism and of desecrating Unconditionality, and to employ as powerful exhortations as ever her rival did; and the fruits of such scriptural labours have generally been still more advantageous to the cause of God and Truth, than even in the particular instance now adduced.

But though the crafty Predestinarian Divines perceived the propriety of inciting their hearers to energetic endeavours, yet they never lost sight of the secular interests of Calvinism: All the pathetic Discourses, delivered before the Long Parliament, were therefore addressed to them as Calvinists. One Sermon, however, was preached to them, "the scope of which," its learned author said, "was not to contend for *this* or *that* opinion, but only to persuade men to the life of *Christ*, as the pith and kernel of all religion." But the preacher, as might very naturally be inferred, was never more invited to fill the pulpit of St. Margaret's. This was the famous Dr. RALPH CUDWORTH, whose Puritanic education and connections, with his former Predestinarian tenets, had prepared him for easily complying with the changes which occurred in 1643. But in prosecuting his metaphysical studies, he compared the two contending systems, and, in common with Dr. Thomas Jackson, of Oxford, preferred the beneficial and enlightening turn which Arminianism gave to those speculations,—though in such studies he may be said to have been "brought up at the feet of Gamaliel;" for his honoured father was editor of PERKINS's Works, and added some elucidations to them in an Appendix. His son Ralph ultimately became an Arminian, and consequently, at the Restoration, a Conformist, and a noble champion not only for *Revealed* but also for *Experimental* Religion.

Quinquarticular Controversies: I do not insist upon the doctrine specified, as the only ground or proof upon which I conclude, that those who profess and teach the clear and direct sense of those whom they expose to the hatred and reproach of poor ignorant souls, under the aspersive character of ARMINIANS. The truth is, that very many sermons are preached by them, wherein, though the face of the doctrine they teach be set against one or other of those opinions, yet, in their use and application, they reconcile themselves unto them. And, as the Roman Orator observed, 'that the force of Justice is such and so great, that even 'thieves and robbers, both by sea and land, who live upon injustice and rapine, yet 'cannot live upon their trade without some practice of it [Justice] among them-'selves:' In like manner, the necessity and power of those tenets or doctrines, nick-named *Arminian*, is so great for the accommodating and promoting the affairs of Christianity, that even those persons themselves who get a good part of their subsistence in the world by decrying them, and declaiming against them, yet cannot make earnings of their profession, are not able to carry on their work of preaching, with any tolerable satisfaction to those that hear them, without employing and asserting them very frequently. Yea, the truth is, that the grounds and principles of the *Remonstrant Faith*, (for so we have been and are unhappily constrained to distinguish them,) are, as it were, some of the choicest and most useful implements or tools, with which they work upon their art whereby they get their living."

When Cudworth preached that Sermon before the House of Commons, March 31, 1647, he might not himself be conscious of "contending for *this* or *that* opinion;" but as Arminianism has been shewn to be *practical Christianity*, the reader, after a perusal of the following passages, will not so far mistake his "scope," as to suppose that he was then pleading in behalf of Calvinism:

"He that builds all his comfort upon an ungrounded persuasion, 'that God from all eternity hath loved him, and absolutely 'decreed him to life and happiness,' and seeketh not for God really dwelling in his soul; he builds his house upon a quicksand, and it shall suddenly sink and be swallowed up: '*His hope shall be cut off, and his trust shall be a spider's web; he shall lean upon his house, but it shall not stand; he shall hold it fast, but it shall not endure.*' We are no where commanded to pry into these secrets; but the wholesome counsel and advice given us, is this, '*to make our calling and election sure.*' We have no warrant in Scripture to peep into these hidden rolls and volumes of eternity, and to make it our first thing that we do, when we come to Christ, to spell out our names in the stars, and to persuade ourselves that we are certainly elected to everlasting happiness, before we see the image of God, in righteousness and true holiness, shaped in our hearts. God's everlasting decree is too dazzling and bright an object for us at first to set our eye upon. It is far easier and safer for us to look upon the rays of his goodness and holiness as they are reflected in our own hearts; and there to read the mild and gentle characters of God's love to us, in our love to him, and our hearty compliance with his heavenly will: As it is safer for us, if we would see the sun, to look upon it here below in a pail of water, than to cast up our daring eyes upon the body of the sun itself, which is too radiant and scorching for us. The best assurance that any one can have of his interest in God, is doubtless *the conformity of his soul to him.* Those Divine purposes, whatsoever they be, are altogether unsearchable and unknowable by us; they lie wrapt up in everlasting darkness, and covered in a deep abyss: Who is able to fathom the bottom of them? The way to obtain a good assurance, indeed, of our title to heaven, is, not to clamber up to it by a ladder of our own ungrounded persuasions, but to dig as low as hell by humility and self-denial in our own hearts: And though this may seem to be the furthest way about, yet it is indeed the nearest and safest way to it. We must, as the Greek epigram speaks, *ascend downward* and *descend upward*, if we would indeed come to heaven, or get any true persuasion of our title to it. The most gallant and triumphant confidence of a Christian riseth safely and surely upon this low foundation, that lies deep under ground; and there stands firmly and stedfastly. When our heart is once tuned into a conformity with the word of God,

when we feel our will perfectly to concur with his will, we shall then presently perceive '*a Spirit of adoption*' within ourselves, teaching us to cry '*Abba, Father!*' (Rom. viii, 15.)

"But I wish it were not the distemper of our times, to scare and fright men only with *opinions*, and make them only solicitous about the entertaining of this and that speculation, which will not render them any thing the better in their lives, or the liker unto God; whilst, in the mean time, there is no such care taken about *keeping of Christ's commandments*, and being renewed in our minds according to the image of God, in righteousness and true holiness. We say, '*Lo, here is Christ!*' and '*Lo, there is Christ!*,' in these and these opinions; whereas, in truth, Christ is neither here, nor there, nor any where but where the Spirit of Christ, where the life of Christ is. Do we not now-a-days open and lock up heaven, with the private key of this and that opinion of our own, according to our several fancies as we please? And if any one observe Christ's commandments never so sincerely, and serve God with faith and a pure conscience, that yet haply skills not of some contended-for opinions, some darling notions; he hath not the right *Shibboleth*, he hath not the true watch-word, he must not pass the guards into heaven. Do we not make this and that opinion, this and that outward form, to be the wedding-garment, and boldly sentence those to outer darkness that are not invested therewith? Whereas, every true Christian finds the least dram of hearty affection towards God to be more cordial and sovereign to his soul, than all the speculative notions and opinions in the world: And though he study also to inform his understanding aright, and free his mind from all error and misapprehensions, yet it is nothing but the life of Christ deeply rooted in his heart, which is the chemical elixir that he feeds upon. He feeleth himself safely anchored in God: and will not be dissuaded from it, though perhaps he skill not many of those subtleties which others make the Alpha and Omega of their religion. Neither is he scared with those childish affrightments, with which some would force their private conceits upon him: He is above the superstitious dreading of mere speculative opinions, as well as the superstitious reverence of outward ceremonies: He cares not so much for subtlety, as for soundness and health of mind.

"I wish it may not prove some of our cases, at that last day, to use such pleas as these unto Christ in our behalf: '*Lord, I have 'prophesied in thy name;* I have preached many a zealous sermon 'for Thee; I have kept many a long fast; I have been very 'active for Thy cause in Church, in State; nay, I never made 'any question but that my name was written in thy Book of 'Life:' When yet, alas! we shall receive no other return from Christ, but this, '*I know you not; depart from me, ye workers of iniquity.*'

" What is it that thus cheats us, and gulls us of our religion; that makes us thus constantly to tread the same ring and circle of duties, where we make no progress at all forwards, and, the further we go, are still never the nearer to our journey's end? What is it that thus starves our religion, and makes it look like those kine in Pharaoh's dream, *ill-favoured and lean-fleshed;* that it hath no colour in its face, no blood in its veins, no life nor heat at all in its members? What is it that doth thus be-dwarf us in our Christianity? What low, sordid, and unworthy principles do we act by, that thus hinder our growth, and make us stand at a stay, and keep us always in the very porch and entrance, where we first began? Is it a sleepy, sluggish conceit, 'That it is enough for us if we be but *once in a state of grace;* if we 'have but once stepped over the threshold, we need not take so 'great pains to travel any further?' Or is it another damping, choaking, stifling opinion, 'That Christ hath done all for us 'already *without* us, and nothing need more to be done *within* us? 'No matter how wicked we be in ourselves, for we have holiness 'without us; no matter how sickly and diseased our souls be 'within, for they have health without them!' Why may we not as well be satisfied and contented, to have happiness *without us* too to all eternity, and so ourselves for ever continue miserable? '*Little children, let no man deceive you: He that doeth righteousness, is righteous, even as He is righteous; but he that committeth sin, is of the devil.*' I shall therefore exhort you in the wholesome words of St. Peter: '*Give all diligence to add to your faith, virtue; and to virtue, knowledge;*' *&c.*"

I linger with much complacency over this single specimen of Arminian preaching before the Long Parliament; because it exhibits, in such a conspicuous manner, the practical and hallowing tendency of the principles of GENERAL REDEMPTION. This Discourse presents the first-fruits of that glorious harvest which sprung up from the seed sown by the Dutch Remonstrants during the Inter-regnum, (p. 785,) and not from the school of Laud, who " did not permit this scriptural system freely to develope itself." (Page 691.) I prize it the more highly, because it contains a distinct recognition of that spirituality and holiness which I have pointed out, (pp. xxvi, 803,) as distinguishing characteristics of the doctrines which genuine Arminianism derives from the Scriptures, and which it uniformly inculcates. Of the spiritual religion, here described, Dr. Cudworth was not ashamed after the Restoration, when all the wit of man was employed in exposing it to ridicule, on account of the abuse of it by the Puritans: (Page 296:) For he reprinted this Sermon in the first edition (1678) of his immortal work, " THE TRUE INTELLECTUAL SYSTEM OF THE UNIVERSE," without any omission except that of the *Dedication* to the House of Commons. Every man of piety

will be charmed by such manly and scriptural eloquence as breathes in the following passages:

"The Gospel is a true *Bethesda,—a pool of grace,*—where such poor, lame, and infirm creatures as we are, upon the moving of God's Spirit in it, may descend down, not only to wash our skin and outside, but also to be cured of our diseases within. And whatever the world thinks, there is a powerful Spirit that moves upon these waters, the waters of the Gospel, for this new creation, the regeneration of souls: The very same Spirit, that once moved upon the waters of the universe at the first creation, and, spreading its mighty wings over them, did hatch the new-born world into this perfection; I say, the same Almighty Spirit of Christ still worketh in the Gospel, spreading its gentle, healing, quickening wings over our souls. The Gospel is not like Abana and Pharphar, those common rivers of Damascus, that could only cleanse the outside; but it is a true Jordan, in which such leprous Naamans, as we all are, may wash and be clean. '*Blessed, indeed, are they, whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered! Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin!*' But yet, rather blessed are they, whose sins are removed like a morning-cloud, and quite taken away from them! '*Blessed,*' thrice blessed, '*are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be satisfied: Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.*'

"Now, therefore, I beseech you, let us consider, whether or no we know Christ indeed; not by our acquaintance with systems and models of Divinity; not by our skill in books and papers; but by our keeping of Christ's commandments. All the books and writings which we converse with, they can but represent spiritual objects to our understandings; which yet we can never see in their own true figure, colour, and proportion, until we have a Divine light within, to irradiate and shine upon them. Though there be never such excellent truths concerning Christ and his Gospel, set down in words and letters, yet they will be but unknown characters to us until we have a living Spirit within us, that can decipher them; until the same Spirit, by secret whispers in our hearts, do comment upon them, which did at first indite them. There be many that understand the Greek and Hebrew of the Scripture, the original languages in which the text was written, that never understood *the language of the Spirit.* There is a *caro* and a *spiritus,* a flesh and a spirit, a body and a soul, in all the writings of the Scriptures. It is but the flesh and body of Divine truths, that is printed upon paper; which many moths of books and libraries do only feed upon; many walking skeletons of knowledge, that bury and entomb truths in the living sepulchres of their souls, do only converse with: Such as never did any thing else but pick at the mere

bark and rind of truths, and crack the shells of them, But there is a *soul* and *spirit* of Divine truths, that could never yet be congealed into ink, that could never be blotted upon paper, which, by a secret traduction and conveyance, passeth from one soul unto another; being able to dwell and lodge no where but in a spiritual being, in a living thing, because itself is nothing but life and spirit. Neither can it, where indeed it is, express itself sufficiently in words and sounds, but it will best declare and speak itself in actions: As the old manner of writing among the Egyptians was, not by words, but things. The life of Divine truths is better expressed in actions than in words, because actions are more living things than words. Words are nothing but the dead resemblances and pictures of those truths, which live and breathe in actions; and '*the kingdom of God,*' (as the Apostle speaketh,) '*consisteth not in* WORD, *but in* LIFE *and power.*' —'Sheep do not come,' saith the Moral Philosopher, 'and bring 'their fodder to their shepherd, and shew him how much they 'eat; but, inwardly concocting and digesting it, they make it 'appear, by the fleece which they wear upon their backs, and 'by the milk which they give.' And let not us Christians affect only to talk and dispute of Christ, and so measure our knowledge of him by our words; but let us shew our knowledge concocted into our lives and actions; and then let us really manifest that we are Christ's sheep indeed, that we are his disciples, by that fleece of holiness which we wear,* and by the fruits that we daily

* The following beautiful description of Holiness is in the best style of "the judicious Hooker," and will prove, both to the critic and the Christian, that Dr. Cudworth had read with the deepest attention the productions of that great Divine:

"GRACE is *holiness militant*,—holiness encumbered with many enemies and difficulties, which it still fights against, and manfully quits itself of: And GLORY is nothing else but *holiness triumphant*,—holiness with a palm of victory in her hand, and a crown upon her head. 'God himself cannot make me happy, 'if he be only without me; and unless he give in a participation of himself, and 'his own likeness into my soul.'—Happiness is nothing, but the releasing and unfettering of our souls from all these narrow, scant, and particular good things; and the espousing of them to the Highest and most Universal Good, which is not *this* or *that* particular good, but GOODNESS ITSELF: And this is the same thing that we call HOLINESS.

"Holiness is no solitary neglected thing; it hath stronger confederacies, greater alliances, than sin and wickedness. It is in league with God, and the whole universe; the whole creation smiles upon it: There is something of God in it, and therefore it must needs be a victorious and triumphant thing.—Wickedness is a weak, cowardly, and guilty thing, a fearful and trembling shadow. It is the child of ignorance and darkness; it is afraid of light, and cannot possibly withstand the power of it, nor endure the sight of its glittering armour. It is allianced to none but wretched, forlorn, and apostate spirits, that do what they can to support their own weak and tottering kingdom of darkness, but are only strong in weakness and impotency. The whole polity and commonwealth of devils is not so powerful as one child of Light, one babe in Christ: They are not all able to '*quench the least smoking flax*,' to extinguish one spark of grace.

yield in our lives and conversations. For '*herein*,' saith Christ, '*is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit: so shall ye be my disciples.*' Let us not, I beseech you, judge of our knowing Christ, by our ungrounded persuasions that Christ from all eternity hath loved us, and given himself particularly for us, without the conformity of our lives to Christ's commandments, without the real partaking of the image of Christ in our hearts. The great mystery of the Gospel doth not lie only in Christ *without us*, (though we must know also what he hath done for us,) but the very pith and kernel of it consists in *Christ inwardly formed in our hearts*. Nothing is truly ours, but what lives in our spirits. Salvation itself cannot save us, as long as it is only without us; no more than health can cure us and make us sound, when it is not within us, but somewhere at distance from us; no more than Arts and Sciences, whilst they lie only in books and papers without us, can make us learned."

7.—*The Re-establishment of Episcopacy, and a comprehensive View of the Act of Uniformity.*

In a preceding page, (xciv,) and in other parts of this work, I have shewn the close affinity which subsists between Arminianism and Civil and Religious Liberty. In the long note, page 687, I have also tendered much information concerning the relative *political* circumstances, in which the English Calvinists and Arminians were placed at the commencement of the Civil Wars. In the preceding extracts from Dr. Cudworth's sermon, he has expressed the same sentiments concerning *liberty of conscience*, and his being *not greatly scrupulous about the externals of*

Darkness is not able to make resistance against light, but ever, as it comes, flies before it. But if wickedness invite the society of devils to it, (as we learn by the sad experience of these present times, in many examples of those that were possessed with malice, revengefulness, and lust,) so that those cursed fiends do most readily apply themselves to it, and offer their service to feed it and encourage it; because it is their own life and nature, their own kingdom of darkness, which they strive to enlarge, and to spread the dominions of: Shall we then think, that holiness, which is so nearly allied unto God, hath no GOOD GENIUS at all in the world to attend upon it, to help it, and encourage it? Shall not *the kingdom of Light* be as true to its own interest, and as vigilant for the enlarging of itself, as *the kingdom of Darkness?*—Holiness is never alone in the world, but God is always with it; and his loving Spirit doth ever associate and join itself to it. He that sent it into the world is with it, as Christ speaketh of himself, '*The Father hath not left me alone, because I do always those things that please him.*' Holiness is the life of God, which he cannot but feed and maintain wheresoever it is; and as the devils are always active to encourage evil, so we cannot imagine but that the heavenly host of blessed angels above are as busily employed, in the promoting of that which they love best, that which is dearest to God whom they serve, THE LIFE AND NATURE OF GOD! '*There is joy in heaven at the conversion of one sinner;*' Heaven takes notice of it; there is a choir of angels that sweetly sings the *epithalamium* of a soul divorced from sin and Satan, and espoused unto Christ."

religion, (p. 800,) as the English *Latitude-men* did in the year 1662. Though attached to the chaste ceremonies of the Church of England, they were not so unreasonable as to number them among *the essentials of salvation.* They lived to see the truth of that opinion which I have quoted, in page 635, from Grotius, when he recommends the Dutch Remonstrants to adopt Episcopacy by "receiving *imposition of hands* from the Irish Archbishop" then in Holland, "and so commence their return to *customs which are at once ancient and salutary.*" This is a high and disinterested compliment to the rites of the Church of England, then in ruins. "Whenever those customs have been despised," Grotius adds, "the licence for framing new opinions has increased, and has created new churches; and what *the articles of belief* in such churches will be a few years hence, we cannot determine."—Having beheld with their own eyes a sad exemplification of this *religious licentiousness,* Tillotson, Burnet, Cudworth, and other great and good men, declared themselves in favour of Episcopal government, as soon as the former unjust restraints upon it were removed, and before that species of regimen was *re-established by law.* The reader will find, in a subsequent part of this Introduction, the grievous lamentations of the Nonconformists when these eminent individuals refused to join their ranks, and to oppose the rising interests of Arminianism. The accession of such divines as these was most important to Episcopacy. Their principles were generally of a milder and more tolerant complexion, than those of their predecessors; and the fine description, in page 801, is exceedingly appropriate: "They seemed to be the very chariots and horsemen of the Church," &c.

These excellent men had not obtained much influence in 1662: Their share, therefore, in the permanent settlement of the Church at that period, was exceedingly slight; and the religious persecution which ensued, does not attach to the Arminians of "the new learning." But had their conduct been different, had they even become active partizans in that persecution of Dissenters, many excuses might have been made for them, on the common principles of human nature, and from the peculiar circumstances in which the Episcopal party had been previously placed.

The Act of Uniformity and its concomitants are industriously represented, by the advocates of the party aggrieved, as insulated occurrences unconnected with former transactions. To those who are inclined to give implicit credence to such representations, and, without accurate information, to circulate such reports, it may be well to submit the following account from one of the finest and most impartial biographical notices that was ever written in the English language:*

* The high authority of PARR's *Life of Archbishop Usher* was demonstrated at the period of its first issuing from the press, which was in the tyrannical reign of King James the Second, who interposed his power to prevent its publication.

"About this time, 1648, whilst his late Majesty was kept prisoner at Carisbrook Castle in the Isle of Wight, the Lord Primate [Archbishop Usher] was highly concerned at the disloyal actions of the two Houses towards their lawful prince: To express which, he preached at Lincoln's Inn on this text, *Say ye not a* CONFEDERACY *to all them to whom this people shall say a* CONFEDERACY! *neither fear you their fear, nor be afraid. Sanctify the Lord of hosts Himself, and let Him be your fear, and let Him be your dread.* (Isai. viii, 12, 13.) Wherein he sufficiently expressed his dislike of those Covenants and Confederacies into which they had now entered, contrary to that oath they had taken already, and that we should not fear man more than God, when we were to do our duty to our prince or country. Not long after which, the Presbyterians, finding the Independent party too strong for them, had no way left to secure themselves, but by recalling their votes of non-addresses, and to vote a treaty with his Majesty in the Isle of Wight. And because the differences concerning church-government were not the least of those that were to be settled and concluded at this treaty, and for which it was necessary for his Majesty to consult with some of his Bishops and divines, the Lord Primate was sent for by the King, among divers others, to attend him for that purpose. When he came thither, he found one of the greatest points then in debate, was about *the government of the church*, the Parliament Commissioners insisting peremptorily for the abolishing and taking away Archbishops, Bishops, &c. out of the churches of England and Ireland. His Majesty thought he could not with a good conscience consent to that demand, viz. *totally to abolish or take away Episcopal government.* But his Majesty then declared, that he no otherwise aimed at the keeping up the present hierarchy in the church, than what was most agreeable to the Episcopal government in the primitive and purest times. But his Majesty (since the Parliament insisted so obstinately on it,) was at last forced to consent to the suspension of Episcopacy for three years, but would by no means agree to

This circumstance is thus related with much artlessness and judgment by EVELYN, in his *Diary:*

"APRIL 18, 1686.—In the afternoon I went to Camberwell, to visit Dr. Parr. After sermon I accompanied him to his house, where he shewed me *the Life and Letters of the late learned Primate of Armagh*, (USHER,) and among them that letter of Bishop Bramhal's to the Primate, giving notice of the Popish practices to pervert this nation, by sending a hundred priests into England, who were to conform themselves to all sectaries and conditions for the more easily dispersing their doctrine amongst us. This letter was the cause of the whole impression being seized, upon pretence that it was a political or historical account of things not relating to theology, though it had been licensed by the bishop; which plainly shewed what an interest the Papist now had, that a Protestant book, containing the life and letters of so eminent a man, was not to be published. There were also many letters to and from most of the learned persons his correspondents in Europe. The book will, I doubt not, struggle through this unjust impediment."

take away Bishops absolutely. But now, to stop the present career of the Presbyterian discipline, the Lord Primate proposed an expedient, which he called *Episcopal and Presbyterial government conjoined,* and which he, not long after he came thither, delivered into his Majesty's hands, who, having perused it, liked it well, saying, 'It was the only expedient to reconcile the present differences.' For his Majesty, in his last message to the Parliament, had before condescended to the reducing of Episcopal government into a much narrower compass, viz. not only to the Apostolical institution, but much farther than the Lord Primate proposed or desired, even to the taking away of Archbishops, Deans, Chapters, &c. together with all that additional power and jurisdiction which his Majesty's predecessors had bestowed upon that function: Which message, being read in the House, was by them, notwithstanding, voted unsatisfactory. So that the Presbyterian party was so absolutely bent to abolish the very order of Bishops, that no proposals of his Majesty, though never so moderate, would content them. Till at last, (when they had wrangled so long till they saw the King's person seized by the army, and that the power was like to be taken out of their hands,) they then grew wiser, and would have agreed to his proposals when it was too late: And so the Presbyterian party saw themselves, within a few days after, forcibly excluded and turned out of doors, by that very army which they themselves had raised and hired to fight against their prince; which, as it was the cause of his Majesty's destruction, so it proved their own ruin.

"It was not the Lord Primate's design or intention, in the least, to rob the Bishops of any of those just rights which are essentially necessary to their order and constitution, and without abasing Episcopacy into Presbytery, or stripping the church of its lands and revenues, both which the Lord Primate always abhorred: For he was of his Majesty's mind in his excellent Icon Basilicon, 'that Presbytery is never so considerable or effectual, as when it 'is joined to and crowned with Episcopacy.'—And that the king himself was then convinced, that this was the best expedient for the settling of the church at that time, you may likewise see by what he writes in the same chapter in these words, viz: 'Not 'that I am against the managing of this presidency and authority 'in one man, by the joint counsel and consent of many Presbyters: I have offered to restore that, as a fit means to avoid those 'errors, corruptions, and partialities which are incident to any 'one man.'—And so likewise, in the chapter about the reformation of the times, he has this pasage: 'I was willing to grant or 'restore to Presbytery what with reason or discretion it can pre-'tend to, in a conjuncture with Episcopacy. But, for that, 'wholly to invade the power, and by the sword to arrogate and 'quite abrogate the authority of that ancient order, I think neither 'just as to Episcopacy, nor safe for Presbytery, nor yet any way

'convenient for this Church or State.'—And that the most pious and learned Dr. Hammond* was, about the same time, of the Lord Primate's judgment in this matter, may appear by this passage in the preface to his treatise of *The Power of the Keys:* 'That a moderate Episcopacy, with a standing assistant Presbytery, as it will certainly satisfy the desires of those whose pretensions are regular and moderate; craving nothing more, and in some things less, than the laws of the land: So that it will appear to be that which all parties can best tolerate, and which, next to himself, both Presbyterian, Independent, and Erastian, will make no question to choose and prefer before any of the other pretenders.'

"Though it may be true, that divers of the more sober of the Presbyterian party have seemed to have approved of these terms of reconciliation, yet it has been only since the ill success their discipline hath met with, both in England and Scotland, that has made them more moderate in their demands: For it is very well known, that, when these terms were first proposed, the ring-leaders of the party utterly cried them down *as a great enemy to Presbytery;* since this expedient would have yet left Episcopacy in a better condition than it is at this day in any of the Lutheran churches. But they were not then for *Divisum Imperium,* [they] would have all or nothing; and they had their desires. So that it is no wonder if the Lord Primate, in this endeavour of reconciliation, met with the common fate of arbitrators, *to please neither party.* But though the church is now restored (beyond our expectation as well as merits,) to all its just rights and privileges,

* Several other eminent Episcopal Divines were at that period advocates for such an accommodation. The following is Dr. GAUDEN'S scheme for a coalition of the three great denominations, which he proposed to the world, only two years prior to the Restoration:

"All agree in the main Christian graces, virtues, and morals required in a good Christian's practice; yet still each party is suspected and reproached by others.—The brisk INDEPENDENT boasts of the liberty, simplicity, and purity of his way; yet is blamed for novelty, subtilty, vulgarity, and anarchy.—The rigid PRESBYTERIAN glories in his aristocratic parity, and levelling community, which makes every petty Presbyter a *Pope* and a *Prince*, though he disdain to be a *Priest;* yet is taxed for petulancy, popularity, arrogancy, and novelty, casting off that catholic and ancient order which God and nature, reason and religion, all civil and military policy, both require and observe among all societies.—EPISCOPACY justly challengeth the advantages, right, and honour of apostolic and primitive antiquity, of universality and unity, beyond any pretenders; yet is this condemned by some for undue encroachments and oppressions upon both ministers' and people's ingenuous liberty and christian privilege, by a kind of secular height and arbitrary sovereignty, to which many Bishops in after ages have been betrayed, as by their own pride and ambition, so by the indulgence of the times, the munificence of christian princes, and sometimes by the flatteries of people.

"Take away *the popular principle* of the first, which prostrates government to the vulgar; take away *the levelling ambition* of the second, which degrades government to a very preposterous and unproportionate parity; take away *the*

without the least diminution ; yet certainly no good subject or son of the church, either of the Clergy or Laity, at that time when this expedient was proposed, but would have been very well contented to have yielded farther than this, to have preserved his late Majesty's life, and to have prevented those schisms and confusions which, for so many years, harrassed these poor nations. But if our king and church are both now restored, it is what then no man could foresee ; *it is the Lord's doing, and is marvellous in our eyes!*"

To complete the correct view, which the reader will now have obtained of the ecclesiastical events preliminary to *the Act of Uniformity*, it will be necessary to present him with the subjoined elucidatory extract from Bishop Heber's *Life of Jeremy Taylor :*

"It has happened almost uniformly, in cases of religious difference, that those schisms have been most bitter, if not most lasting, which have arisen on topics of dispute comparatively unimportant, and where the contending parties had, apparently, least to concede, and least to tolerate. Nor are there many instances on record which more fully and more unfortunately exemplify this general observation, than that of the quarrel and final secession of the Puritan clergy from the church, in the year 1662. Both parties, in that case, were agreed on the essentials of christianity. Both professed themselves not unwilling to keep out of sight, and mutually endure, the few doctrinal points on which a difference existed between them. The leading Puritans were even disposed to submit to that episcopal government, their opposition to which, during former reigns, had created so much disturbance, and had led, by degrees, to such abundant bloodshed and anarchy. And it is no less true than strange, that this great quarrel, which divided so many holy and learned preachers of the common faith, was occasioned and perpetuated by men, who, chiefly resting their objections to the form and colour of an ecclesiastical garment, the wording of a prayer, or the injunction of kneeling at

monopoly of the third, which seems to engross to one man more than is meet for the whole : Each of them will be sufficiently purged (as I conceive) of what is most dangerous or noxious in them, for which they are most jealous of, and divided from each other. Restore to *People* their liberty in some such way of choosing, or at least approving their ministers, and assenting to church-censures, as may become them in reason and conscience ; restore to *Presbyters* their privileges in such public counsel and concurrence with their Bishops as may become them. Lastly, restore to *Bishops* that primitive precedency and catholic presidency which they ever had among and above presbyters, both for that chief authority or eminency which they ever had in ordaining of presbyters and deacons, also in exercising such ecclesiastical discipline and censures, that nothing be done without them : I see no cause why any sober ministers and wise men should be unsatisfied, nor why they should longer stand at such distances and defiances, as if the *liberties* of christian people, the *privileges* of christian presbyters, and the *dignity* of christian bishops, were wholly inconsistent ; whereas they are easily reconciled, and, as *a three-fold cord*, may be so handsomely twisted together, that none should have cause to complain or be jealous, all should have cause to joy in and enjoy each other."

the eucharist, were willing, for questions like these, to disturb the peace of the religious world, and subject themselves to the same severities which they had previously inflicted on the episcopal clergy.

"With these men, whether in England, or Ireland, there were apparently only three lines of conduct for the ruling powers to follow.

"The FIRST was, the adoption of such a liturgy and form of church government as would, at once, satisfy the advocates of episcopacy and presbytery. This was attempted in vain; and was, indeed, a measure, the failure of which, a very slight attention to the prejudices and animosity of both parties would have enabled a by-stander to anticipate.

"The SECOND was that which was, at least virtually, promised by the king in the declaration of Breda; that, namely, uniformity of discipline and worship should, for the present, not be insisted on; that the Presbyterian and Independent preachers should, during their lives, be continued in the churches where they were settled; ejecting only those who had been forcibly intruded, to the prejudice of persons yet alive, and who might legally claim reinstatement; and filling up the vacancies of such as died, with ministers episcopally ordained and canonically obedient. In this case, it is possible that, as the stream of preferment and patronage would have been confined to those who conformed, as the great body of the nation were strongly attached to the liturgy, and gave a manifest preference to those churches where it was used; and as the covenanting clergy would have no longer been under the influence of that point of honour, which, when its observance was compulsory, induced them to hold out against it,—the more moderate, even of the existing generation, would have by degrees complied with their own interests and the inclination of their flocks; while the course of nature, and the increasing infirmities of age, must, in a few years, have materially diminished the numbers and influence of the more pertinacious. We have found, in fact, by experience, that the liturgy has, through its intrinsic merits, obtained, by degrees, no small degree of reverence even among those who, on other grounds, or on no grounds at all, dissent from the church of England, as at present constituted. And it is possible that, by thus forbearing to press its observance on those whose minds were so ill prepared to receive it, a generation would soon have arisen, to whom their objections would have appeared in their natural weakness, and the greatest and least rational of those schisms have been prevented, which have destroyed the peace and endangered the existence of the British churches.

"But, while we at the present day are amusing ourselves with schemes of what we should have done had we lived in the time of our fathers, it may be well, for the justification of these

last, to consider how little the principles of toleration were then understood by either party; how deeply and how recently the episcopal clergy, and even the laity of the same persuasion, had suffered from the very persons who now called on them for forbearance; how ill the few measures which were really proposed, of a conciliatory nature, were met by the disingenuousness of some of the Presbyterian leaders, and the absurd bigotry of others, and the reasonable suspicion which was thus excited, that nothing would content them but the entire proscription of the forms to which they objected.

"Nor can we greatly wonder, that, under such circumstances, the THIRD and simplest course was adopted,—that, namely, of imposing afresh on all a liturgy, to which the great body of the people was ardently attached, and the disuse of which, in any particular parishes, (when the majority of congregations enjoyed it,) was likely to be attended with abundant discontent and inconvenience. These considerations are, indeed, no apology for the fresh aggressions of which the episcopalian party were guilty, for their unseasonable though well-intended alterations of the liturgy, and the hostile clauses inserted in their new Act of Uniformity. Far less can they extenuate the absurd wickedness of the persecution afterwards resorted to, against those whom these measures had confirmed in their schism. But they may lead us to apprehend that, (though a very few concessions more would have kept such men as Baxter and Philip Henry in the church,) there would have been very many whom no concession would have satisfied;* and that the offence of schism was, in a great degree, inevitable, though a different course, on the side of the victorious party, might have rendered it of less wide diffusion, and of less deep and lasting malignancy."

IV. CONTENTS OF THIS VOLUME.

HAVING given, in the preceding paragraphs, some account of the belligerent Calvinists of 1643, and of their immediate successors, I introduce my readers to Dr. William TWISSE, who has been called "a Puritan of *the Old School*," but to whom belongs the much more appropriate appellation of "a Puritan of *the New School*." I connect his personal history with the Synod of Dort, and relate at some length, (pp. 242—256,) the political consequences of the decisions of that Assembly in several countries of Europe. I afterwards (pp. 256—307) describe the hosts of Cal-

* This will be very evident to every one who has had an opportunity of perusing the very able pamphlets which were published by the Presbyterians, between 1660 and 1662. The answers of their Episcopalian brethren are likewise deserving of a perusal, on account of the moderation which many of them exhibit.

vinistic prophets that immediately arose to predict great things to Calvinism, and the resistance which Grotius, Hammond, and a few others gave to this prophesying humour. Without a brief exposition of this kind, the reader would not be able to form any conception of the origin of that fanatical spirit which was excited among the common people by a few artful Predestinarians, and which never ceased to operate till it had engendered civil discord in every European state in which Calvinism received encouragement. This subject is resumed in another part of the volume, (pp. 499—532,) in which it is shewn, that, when the interests of Calvinism were to be promoted by arts like these, the cool metaphysical head of Dr. Twisse could busy itself in auspicious predictions respecting the overthrow of the Arminians; and that, when the mild and ingenuous Joseph Mede would not sing to his sanguine tune, and prophesy smooth things to those whom he accounted "the Lord's people," the old Doctor became very wroth and renounced his acquaintance. From the whole of this minute recital I have shewn (p. 515) how "Divine Providence then permitted the experiment of a reputed holy republic to be made in this country, and undoubtedly intended that its disastrous issue should be a warning to the nations *not to infringe the royalties of Heaven, by assigning the precise time for the accomplishment of particular events predicted in God's Holy Word, to which perverse and designing men gave a plausible meaning, and under it concealed their own secular and corrupt designs!*"

After due reprehension of this perversion of Christianity through *pretended inspirations*, (pp. 307—377,) I subjoin a brief detail, from Dr. Heylin's *History of Presbyterianism*, of the seditious practices of the Calvinistic cabal in Scotland and England from 1637 till the murder of King Charles the First, a description of which catastrophe is quoted from Lloyd's *Worthies*. I then endeavour (pp. 379—391,) most impartially to decide between the Presbyterians and Independents, "respecting the degree of blood-guiltiness which attached to each of the prevailing parties," and have presented my readers (p. 387) with extracts from sermons delivered before the Long Parliament, by celebrated Presbyterian divines, only a few months prior to that fatal tragedy. The Assembly of Divines and their revolutionary labours at Westminster are afterwards described, (pp. 392—446,) when Dr. Twisse's personal history again connects itself with the public events of the kingdom.

In the language of Mr. Reid, one of the old Doctor's biographers, I give all the leading circumstances of his life, (pp. 452—472,) and some curious particulars concerning the arrangements and conduct of the Westminster Assembly, over which he was appointed to preside. The Doctor's famous Latin book against Arminius is the next subject, (pp. 472—494,) on which I have offered animadversions. Of his prophesying predilections I have

already made mention; and his correspondence with the Rev. Joseph Mede on this subject is introduced (pp. 494—546,) with the ulterior view of affording my readers a good opportunity of forming a judgment concerning the alleged innovations by Archbishop Laud in the public worship of the church. Mr. Mede had publicly defended *bowing towards the altar*, and other rites revived by Bishop Andrews, (p. 532,) long before Laud had attained any influence at Court: In the letters, therefore, which passed between him and Dr. Twisse, both of whom were accounted more excellent and moderate than their cotemporaries, the case of reputed novel ceremonies is discussed with the greatest coolness; and every thinking man will soon decide for himself, whether those innocent observances deserved to be represented in such an obnoxious light as they have generally been, or to be charged exclusively to the black account of one to whom they do not appertain. Mr. Mede's testimony on these topics is the more valuable, because he is generally depicted by modern Dissenters as A PURITAN, though, by a perusal of the notes in pages 741, 487, and 525, the reader will feel some hesitation about the particular class under which he ought to be ranged.

All this discussion about rites is preliminary to a history of FUNDAMENTAL ARTICLES of Religion, the devising of which in that age engrossed the attention of the greatest and most philanthropic individuals in different Protestant communities. Omitting particular mention of those devised by the enlightened Catholics, Cassander, Erasmus, Wikelius, and others; I commence (pp. 546—809,) with a notice of the acts of pacification by Arminius, Du Moulin, M. A. De Dominis, Grotius, Laud, Dury, and Mede, and conclude with those of Cromwell's Committee of Fundamentalists, the Officers of the Republican Army, Milton, and the new race of Arminians in the depressed Church of England who were reproachfully called "Latitudinarians," but whose liberal and benevolent principles had taken deep root during the Interregnum. I have been purposely diffuse on this important topic, that I might demonstrate the extreme aversion of all the high Predestinarians to such broad foundations of Christian concord, and might contrast the narrowness of the most famous of the Calvinistic schemes of FUNDAMENTALS with those of the more liberal Arminians. It was with a feeling of well-founded confidence, that I knew I could take hold of one of the most objectionable of the reputed English Arminians, Archbishop Laud, and could prove the great superiority of his benevolent views to those of the most admired of his Calvinistic cotemporaries. Like every youthful student who knows nothing of Laud except what the most popular of our historians have delivered,* I had imbibed

* Thus, for instance, the Rev. John Wesley, with whose writings I was familiar when quite a boy, gave, in 1777, the members of the Established

early prejudices against him, and considered the following description of him and of his noble predecessor on the scaffold, though the composition of an eminent writer, as greatly overcharged: "The two ministers that stood in the gap betwixt the "conspiracy and the government, (and who were only cut off, "as appeared by the sequel, to clear the passage to the King "himself,) were the Earl of Strafford and Archbishop Laud: So "that their first attack was upon the Earl, and their next upon "the Archbishop, under the notion of *evil councillors*. Upon the "common charge of POPERY and ARBITRARY PROCEEDINGS, their "impeachments were carried on by tumults; and these brave "men were rather baited to death by beasts, than sentenced with "any colour of law or justice: And as they lived, so they died, "the resolute assertors of the English Monarchy and Religion— "the Earl of Strafford in May, 1641, but the Archbishop was kept "languishing in the Tower till January, 1644. And their crime

Church, and then the Dissenters, the following wholesome advice and reproof, in his *Calm Address to the Inhabitants of England*, on the subject of the American war:—"How is it that any of you, who fear God, *are not afraid to speak evil of dignities, to speak evil of the Ruler of your people*, as well as of those that are put in authority under him? Do you believe, *that Michael the archangel durst not bring a railing accusation against Satan?* And dare YOU bring or retail a hundred railing accusations against your lawful governors? Now, at least, humble yourselves before God, and act more suitably to your character. Wherever you are, far from countenancing, repress the base clamours of the vulgar, remembering those awful words, *If any man among you seemeth to be religious*, (rather *be ever so religious,*) *and bridleth not his tongue, that man's religion is vain.*

"Are not you, who DISSENT from the Established Church, in whatever kind or degree, particularly concerned to observe this, *for wrath*, as well as *for conscience sake?* Do you imagine, there are no *High Churchmen* left? Did they all die with Dr. Sacheverel? Alas! how little do you know of mankind! Were the present restraint taken off, you would see them swarming on every side, and gnashing upon you with their teeth. There would hardly need a nod from that sacred person, [King George the Third,] whom you revile, or at least lightly esteem. Were he to stand neuter, in what a condition would you be, within one twelve-months? If other *Bonners* and *Gardiners* did not arise, other LAUDS and SHELDONS would, who would either rule over you with a rod of iron, or drive you out of the land. Know the blessings you enjoy. Let common sense restrain you, if neither religion nor gratitude can. 'Beware of the wrath of a patient man.' Dare not again to open your lips against your sovereign—[shall I say.]—*lest he fall upon you?* No; but *lest he cease to defend you.* Then, farewell to the liberty you now enjoy!"

I hope some of the succeeding pages of this volume will shew, that Archbishop Laud was deserving of a better and milder station, than that which is here assigned to him and to Sheldon: Both of them lived in troublous times, and had to restrain some most impetuous spirits.

But this extract is exceedingly valuable on another account: It exhibits the personal wishes and feelings of his late Majesty, on the subject of *an extended Toleration.* None of the biographers of King George the Third has given a prominence to this lovely trait in his character and conduct, though it is that for which all the godly part of the kingdom long held his royal name in veneration. By a diligent author, it would be found, that the materials are neither few nor meagre which serve to elucidate this interesting portion of religious history.

"was not, in truth, their being *men of arbitrary principles* themselves, but for being *the opposers of those principles* in others."—But my subsequent researches convinced me of my mistake, and taught me to venerate, though not always to admire, several of those sterner virtues which the state of this nation and of Europe called into exercise, and which have generally been exaggerated to the Archbishop's prejudice. But I refrain from all further allusions to this great Prelate, as I shall have another opportunity of adverting to him, and "to his good friend Hugo Grotius," in a succeeding part of this Introduction.—As the doctrine of FUNDAMENTALS and of a GENERAL RELIGIOUS PACIFICATION could not be introduced without some account of these two great men, and of the state of Europe at that period, I have made a large digression, (pp. 582—766,) in which I have presented the reader with many interesting particulars respecting Laud and Grotius, which have not been given by any preceding English writer.

The remaining contents of Appendix D, (pp. 800—830,) are soon specified. A brief allusion to the adulterated species of Arminianism which was imbibed and propagated by many of our English divines at the period of the Restoration, and which gave a tone to the public ministry of the English Clergy for some years afterwards,—and three extracts, from Professor Poelenburgh, Bishop Fleetwood, and Bishop Atterbury,—conclude the volume.

The various subjects which I have now cursorily enumerated, are further illustrated and explained by notes, consisting of slight original observations, but principally of extracts from scarce pamphlets and treatises Several of these elucidations are now, for the first time, translated into our language. When I commenced this part of my undertaking, I resolved to borrow no part of my relation of facts from the histories and remarks of Clarendon, Burnet, Eachard, Grey, Collier, Neal, Walker, Calamy, or from the pamphlets of L'Estrange, Dr. South, Heylin's Quinquarticular History, or any other similar authority that is supposed to be in the hands of every Englishman, and that might seem to be too partial to one side or to the other. Freed from these trammels, and having no worldly consideration whatever to cloud my understanding or to bias my judgment, I have produced a very impartial account of those transactions which I narrate, and a correct exposition of the principles avowed by the chief actors, and generally in their own expressions. I am quite aware, that violent partizans on all sides, who derive their information from more objectionable sources, may not be inclined to concede to me even the small praise of impartiality; and that I shall be blamed particularly for the strong opinions, to which I have given utterance, in favour of Episcopacy and of the Clergy of the Established Church. But when the reader has perused the conclusion

of this Introduction, he will discover reasons why my apparent bias in this last respect ought to secure me from undue censure.

V.—SUBJECTS DISCUSSED IN THE NOTES.

I NOW proceed to advert to a few of those discussions which occur in the notes, and to which the title of this work will have called the attention of my readers.

A perusal of the long note (pp. 679—693,) on *the origin and progress of English Arminianism,* will convince every man of candour of the falsity of the proposition upon which I have ventured to animadvert, "that in England, CALVINISM went along with Civil liberty, and ARMINIANISM the contrary, and that in Holland it was at the same time the very reverse." The notes, in pages 704—709 and 780, respecting Bishops Hall and Davenant, and the note on 798 (in which an allusion is made to Dr. Hall as the Bishop of Norwich,) will add strong confirmation to the one already quoted, and will inject serious doubts into the minds of those who have been accustomed to reckon those two celebrated divines as rigid Calvinists to the very close of life.

In the account which Mr. Farindon has given of the conversion of "the ever-memorable Hales of Eton" from Calvinism to Arminianism, he has introduced a circumstance respecting EPISCOPIUS, which has exceedingly puzzled Mosheim, and other writers. The evidence adduced in pages 577—9, will prove, I hope satisfactorily, that MARTINIUS was the individual, through whose reasoning Hales "bade John Calvin GOOD NIGHT!"

The reputed POPERY of Arminianism receives some explanation in pages 677—9, 267, and 526.—Some particulars respecting ARMINIUS and his system are related in pages 466, 478—83, 548, 552, 621, 801, and 828.—Curious acceptation of the the term "Pelagianism," p. 780.—Remarks on unchristian rebellion, pp. 561—4, 364—6, 728, 385, and 270.—Conversions to Arminianism, 305, 394, 535, 577, 687—91, 704, 713, 780, 788, 800 and 803.

CONTRASTS are instituted—in page 285 between the death-bed scene of Grotius, and of Rivet his most acrimonius accuser;—336—341, between the execution of Archbishop Laud, and Mr. Love who exulted at that great Prelate's death;—753, between the conduct of Vossius, and that of the brave Grotius, towards Archbishop Laud in his troubles;—482 between the Divinity of the schools and that of the scriptures;—413—16, 790, between the tolerant views of Dr. Hammond and John Goodwin, and those of Dr. Owen;—761, 765—75, between the amplitude of Fundamental Articles of religion devised by the Arminians, and those of the Calvinists;—296—306, 512, 518, between the prophesying humour of the Calvinists, and the common sense of

the Arminians;—643, between extempore prayers, and written forms;—606, between the French Calvinists and Dutch Arminians;—223, between the Remonstrants, Du Moulin, Amyraut, and Twisse;—678 between the labours of the Conformists in the Popish controversy, and those of the Puritan Clergy;—674, between marriage and celibacy;—710—6, between the political principles of the English Arminians and Calvinists;—380—1, between the suppleness of Dr. Owen, and the firmness of Meric Casaubon;—and 636, between Grotius and Selden.

The genius and tendency of Calvinism are well portrayed by Grotius in page 271—8, and by Dr. Hammond 690—2.—Calvinistic Revolutionary reveries, 512, 515, and 528.—Westminster Assembly of Divines 400—9, 435, 443, 464—72.—Preparations for the Assembly by the Du Moulins 392.—Remarkable deficiency of the Calvinists in a knowledge of the Ancient Fathers, 430, 524, 534, 686.—The craft of the English Puritans, immediately prior to the civil wars, in joining the articles of the Irish Church with those of the Church of England, in argumentative array against the Arminians, 565.—Description of the Calvinists in those days, 271, 359, 463, 512, 528, 705, and 786.—Presbyterian discipline 445, and intolerance, 448, 467.—Contests between the Presbyterians and Independents, 313, 342, 386, 448, 606 and 733.—Dr. Twisse's curious Predestinarian arguments, &c. 476—81, 490—2, 406, 444; his obligations to the Jesuits, 477, 526; and his prophetical enthusiasm, 506, 510, 512.—A Parliamentary chaplain, described by himself, 457—8.—The Long Parliament 406, 444.—Scotch Presbyterians, 347—9, 365.—The French Calvinists, 265, 721.—Synod of Dort and its consequences, 425, 572, 587, 592, 710, 738.—The capacity in which the British Deputies appeared at that Synod, and their private disputes, 398, 565, 710.—Dury's pacific labours, 608—10, 617, 748; his prophesying humour, 617, 754—9.—Sir Henry Vane's prophecies, 513, 516—8.—Animadversions on some of Richard Baxter's assertions, 251, 294, 302, 323, 330, 352, 360, 379, 401, 640, 678, 747.—An almost universal and voluntary infliction of *self-punishment*, in the year 1662, on the high Predestinarian ministers, 788.

To general readers the following notes will probably appear the most interesting: Curious anecdote about Archbishop Tillitson, 785—7.—Difficulty of defining with accuracy Whigs and Tories, 812—5.—The desire of Grotius to be employed at the Court of England, and the reasons why his request was slighted, 634—6, 597, 600.—The family of Vossius, and his invitation to England and Ireland, 659—65.—Female branches of the family *De Medicis*, 719—731.—An account of Dr. Cosin's Devotions, 502.—The Elector Palatine and the Queen of Bohemia, 611—3, 734.—The Ancient Fathers of the Christian Church, and their great authority, 428—434, 413, 535, 685, 799.—Escape of Grotius from confinement, 582; and his fine letter on the death of his

daughter Maria, 603.—Dr. Featly's *trimming* conduct, 459—463, 403.—Selden's conduct in the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, 470.—Bishop Atterbury on the advantages of a married Clergy, 644; and Archbishop Laud's opinion about celibacy, 674.—Ancient and modern ideas about Catholic emancipation, 693.—University learning, 369—71.—Critique upon Du Moulin's VATES, 281.

On the subject of Popery, abundant information will be found in the copious notes, pp. 549—784; and Cardinal Richelieu's *finesse* is exposed in pages 624—30, 734.

On various subjects connected with our national history, the reader will find some information in the following notes: King James the First, 307, 376, 510, 561, 649, 711.—King Charles the First, 376, 648, 716, 719—31, 734; and His Majesty's death, 323, 350, 377, 380, 387, 391.—King Charles the Second, 607, 820.—The Electoral Family, 336, 453, 611—3, 647, 724, 784, 740, 770, 817.

Moderation of the Episcopal Church, 435, 532, 545, 654, 798. Her rites and ceremonies, 527, 432—4, 543—4, 799.—At an equal distance from Puritanism and Popery, 656, 67.—Advantages of Episcopacy, 545, 698, 702, 422.—JUS DIVINUM of Episcopacy, and of other modes of Divine Worship, 792—5.—Episcopal Clergy prior to the Civil Wars, 302, 330, 333, 335, 525, 811.—Employment of Ecclesiastics in the great offices of State, 585.—Uniformity in Public Worship, 452, 575, 772.—Origin of Ecclesiastical Power, 436.—The observance of Christmas, 411, 419, 451; and of the Christian Sabbath, 287, 455, 542.—Baptismal Regeneration, 395.—Conformity, 543.

The principles of Toleration, 415, 448, 452, 607, 692, 704, 707, 729, 730, 783, 791, 796, 800.—Those who oppose Popery are the greatest lovers of Toleration, 783.—Fundamental Articles, 496, 552, 762, 772.—Those of the Bremen Divines at the Synod of Dort, 577.—Vile sycophancy and intolerance of the Romish Church, 496, 558—61, 621, 624, 628.

Some of the retributive acts of Divine Providence are briefly pointed out in the notes, pp. 302, 339, 512, 466, 528, 595, 706, 788, 826—8.—Confirmation of some of Mr. Mede's conjectures, 508.—Socinianism, 641—3, 782.—Progress of Independency in England, 451.

In addition to the notes now specified, some of which will be found extremely long, others are interspersed throughout the work concerning Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Rivet, Du Moulin, Servetus, Beza, Milletiere, Paræus, Dr. John Owen, Robert Baylie, Philip Nye, Judge Jenkins, Casaubon, Junius, Lightfoot, Selden, Sampson Johnson, Amyraut, Courcelles, John Goodwin, Feuardent, Marets, Bogerman, Du Plessis Marly, Daillée, Cassander, Castellio, Prince Rupert, Duke of Hamilton, Hugh Peters, Dr. Samuel Ward, Bishop Morley, Philip Henry, John

Archer, Joshua Sprigge, Bishop Burnet, Dr. Prideaux, Professor Poelenburgh, Archbishop Sheldon, Dr. Lloyd, Samuel Hartlib, Bishop Andrews, Herbert Thorndyke, Bishop Bedell, Gomarus, Bishop Morton, Gondemar, Archbishop Tillotson, Oliver Cromwell, Gerard Brandt, Archbishop Abbot, Martinius, Crocius, De Barneveldt, Chancellor Oxenstern, Gustavus Adolphus, Prince Maurice, Episcopius, Louis the Thirteenth, Sir Richard Browne, Peter De Marca, Bishop Atterbury, Vossius, Duke of Buckingham, Bishop Juxon, the Archbishop of Cologne, Dr. Walter Balcanqual, Archbishop Dawes, Dr. Hoe Van Henegg, Bishop Hoadly, the Elector of Saxony, John Durie, Tobias Conyers, Dr. Henry More, Bishop Fleetwood, Samuel Wesley, Sir Henry Wotton, &c. &c.

Numerous extracts are also given, in the form of explanatory notes, from BRAY'S *Life of Evelyn*, TWELLS'S *Life of Dr. Pocock*, FELL'S *Life of Dr. Hammond*, *Bishop* HALL'S *Hard Measure*, *Lord* CLARENDON'S *Life by Himself*, BATES'S *Lives*, *Isaac* WALTON'S *Lives*, PARR'S *Life of Archbishop Usher*, JACKSON'S *Life of John Goodwin*, *Bishop* HEBER'S *Life of Jeremy Taylor*, and other authentic and creditable biographical Memoirs. Several elucidations have likewise been borrowed from BURRISH'S *Batavia Illustrata*, SANDERSON'S *Preface to his Sermons*, PIERCE'S *Divine Philanthropy and Purity Defended*, BAKER'S *Chronicle by Phillips*, DR. HAMMOND'S *Sermons*, MEDE'S & LIGHTFOOT'S *Works*, *The Letters and Minor Treatises of* GROTIUS, RIVET'S *Apology*, DURY'S *Prodromus*, *Sermons preached by various Puritan Divines before the Long Parliament*, TWISSE'S *Vindication*, BAYLE'S *Dictionary*, MOSHEIM'S *Ecclesiastical History*, *Acts of the Dort Synod*, BAYLIE'S *Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time*, CURCELLÆUS *De Jure Dei*, BURNET *on the Thirty-Nine Articles*, *&c.*

VI.—REMARKS ON SOME OF THOSE WRITERS WHOSE WORKS I HAVE QUOTED.

1. DR. PETER HEYLIN.

IT was my intention to have given a concise character of a few of the most important of those works which I have now enumerated; but the execution of this task must be deferred till the publication of the second volume. One writer, however, Dr. Peter HEYLIN, whose *History of the Presbyterians*, and *Life of Archbishop Laud*, I have occasionally quoted, deserves in this place a brief notice. It has been said of him, "that, in some things, he was too much a party-man, to be an Historian:" He was undoubtedly a warm writer, yet in general exceedingly correct in his relation of matters of fact, and very sincere even on those doctrinal topics in which I conceive him to have been in error. But with

all his defects of temper, and his obviously low views of the economy of God's grace, I prefer his testimony, on every affair of importance, to that of his virulent revilers; some of whom, though eulogized as "moderate men," I have found to be guilty of the vilest misrepresentations.

I know only of a single fact in which Dr. Heylin's information is proved to have been essentially erroneous, and that is, the conversation which he reports between Archbishop LAUD and "the Ever-Memorable HALES of Eton," and in which the latter is said to have been reclaimed from the errors of Socinianism. Mr. Des Maizeaux, in his "Historical and Critical Account" of that great man, has very satisfactorily controverted Dr. Heylin's premises and conclusion: Yet, after all, the two Socinian publications, of which Hales had then been wrongfully considered as the author, afforded strong grounds for Heylin's assertion. To those who have perused the collection of letters in PARR's *Life of Archbishop Usher*, (Letter 181,) and similar publications, it will be unnecessary to say, that one of these pamphlets (written by Stegman, a Socinian Minister,) was charged to the account of John Hales. The other, written by Przipcovius, a Polish Knight and a great Unitarian, was also ascribed to him by common report; and in the virulent pamphlets and minor Church-histories of that period, his Patron the Archbishop was indirectly assailed as giving some encouragement to noted heretics. Knowing all this, Dr. Heylin, who appears to have been made very imperfectly acquainted with the substance of their conversation, naturally inferred that it had been on the charge of Socinianism then current against Hales, and seized that opportunity for vindicating the eminent Prelate against Socinian imputations.

The following paragraph from "the Life of Lord CLARENDON," who likewise relates, in a different manner, the very interesting conversation which passed between him and the Archbishop, is in reality somewhat confirmatory of Heylin's suspicions: "He was chaplain in the house with Sir Dudley Carleton, Ambassador at the Hague in Holland, at the time when the Synod of Dort was held, and so had liberty to be present at the consultations in that Assembly; and hath left the best memorial behind him of the ignorance, and passion, and animosity, and injustice of that convention; of which he often made very pleasant relations, though at that time it received too much countenance from England. He would never take any cure of souls, and was a great contemner of money; yet, besides his being very charitable to all poor people even to liberality, he had made a greater and better collection of books than were to be found in any other private library that I have seen; as he had sure read more, and carried more about him in his excellent memory, than any man I ever knew, my Lord Falkland only excepted, who I think sided him. He had,—whether from his natural temper and constitution, or from his long

retirement from all crowds, or from his profound judgment and discerning spirit,—contracted *some opinions which were not received* nor by him published except in private discourses, and then rather upon occasion of dispute than of positive opinion. And he would often say, his opinions, he was sure, did him no harm; but he was far from being confident, that they might not do others harm who entertained them, and might entertain other results from them than he did: And therefore he was very reserved in communicating what he thought himself, in those points in which he differed from what was received."—See a continuation of this character of Hales, in a preceding page, (xciv.)

On another subject, that of "the Christian Sabbath," I shall prove, in the second volume, that his information was essentially correct, and especially in relation to the open and allowed profanation of that sacred day by the early Calvinists at Geneva. Some vituperative remarks on the Doctor will be found in a succeeding page, (455,) and the reader will afterwards perceive that the ground on which the English Puritans argued this question, was the same as that assumed by the celebrated Indepenpendent, Robert Robinson of Cambridge, in his low and scurrilous tract, "The History and Mystery of Good Friday," which he wrote against that pious, mild, and excellent Prelate, the late Bishop Porteus.

2.—BISHOP GAUDEN.

This eminent man has furnished me with some good quotations, (pp. 540, 560, 655, 680, 700, 703,) which are the more valuable on account of his connection with some of the highest Puritanic families among the nobility. (Page 700.) At the commencement of the Civil Wars, he was nearly in the same predicament as Dr. Featly, (p. 463,) for he was a great admirer of the pacific method of Archbishop Usher; but he, as well as the amiable Primate, and other Episcopalians who were then moderate Calvinists, soon perceived the futility of such a plan of proceeding with those who hated peace, and they became sound converts to Arminianism and better friends to Episcopacy,* when both were

* In his *Liturgical Considerations*, Dr. Gauden observes: "A Liturgy is a great defence to true doctrine, and a means to prevent the spreading of corrupt opinions." To this consideration old Giles Firmin replies, "Not every Liturgy: Some may be bad enough. This was the first reason, (as some conceive, with laziness,) which first brought in Liturgies,—the Arian and Pelagian heresies. In which time yet ministers did compose and use their own prayers, though they were first reviewed. But, it may be, the Doctor hath an honest design in this: For, he knows well, that abundance of the Episcopal men, now preferred, are stout Arminians, of the same blood with Pelagius; and he fears these men will spread Pelagianism under a little finer dress, and so would have the Liturgy imposed, to keep them from doing this mischief. Ah, Doctor! This will not do! Such men call for the Liturgy more than any: But if this were your only intent, we thank you for your honesty."—Such were the sarcastic remarks, which the good Doctor was forced to endure from some of his former friends.

in their low estate, and when neither of them could confer any present earthly emolument on their professors. When the licentious soldiers had the murder of the King under contemplation, the Doctor wrote a bold Address to the Army, though it does not exhibit as great ability as that by Doctor Hammond. Whatever opinion may be formed of him, with regard to the part which he is said to have acted in the composition of King Charles the First's *Eikon Basilike,* his conduct in every other particular is unexceptionable, and entitled to high commendation.

He was intimate with those Presbyterian ministers who managed the dispute, with King Charles, concerning Episcopacy; and heard from their own lips the undissembled wonder to which they gave utterance at that unfortunate monarch's unanswerable arguments in favour of Episcopal regimen. Dr. Gauden was also privy to those "hortatory though concealed letters," which were addressed by "Diodati from Geneva and by Salmasius "from Leyden,* to the chief sticklers of late for Presbytery in "England, advising them to acquiesce in and bless God for such "a regulated Episcopacy, as had obtained, and might best be "retained, in England." Gauden took the Covenant. He also tells us, "I was as fully chosen as any to the Assembly of Divines; and never gave any refusal to sit with them, further than my judgment was sufficiently declared, in a Sermon preached at the first sitting of the Parliament, to be for the ancient and Catholic Episcopacy.† Although myself were, by I-know-not-what sleight

* For a larger account of these communications, consult the note in page lxxix.

† Cornelius Burges and Stephen Marshall had preached before the House of Commons, at their Solemn Fast, Nov. 17th, 1640; and, in their joint dedication of Burges's Sermon, they thus addressed the honourable members on the subject of Parliamentary assistance in the establishment of Calvinism: "The God of Heaven make you the most accomplished, best united, and most successful and glorious House of Commons that ever sate in that High Court; but chiefly in the perfecting of the Reformation of Religion; in the erecting, maintaining, protecting, and encouraging of an able, godly, faithful, zealous, profitable, preaching ministry, in every parish-church and chapel throughout England and Wales; and in the interceding to the King's Sacred Majesty for the setting up of a faithful, judicious, and zealous Magistracy, where yet the same is wanting, to be ever at hand to back such a Ministry: Without either of which, not only the power of Godliness will soon degenerate into formality and zeal into lukewarmness, but POPERY, ARMINIANISM, SOCINIANISM, PROFANENESS, APOSTACY, and ATHEISM itself, will more and more crowd in upon us and prevail against us, do you all you can by all other means."

On the 29th of the same month, "JOHN GAUDEN, *Bachelor in Divinity,*" preached on a sacramental occasion before the Honourable House, from Zech. viii, 19. After severely animadverting on the undue stress which had been laid upon ceremonies, the preacher expressed himself in the following language, in which, without doubt, "his judgment was then sufficiently declared to be for the ancient and catholic Episcopacy," and could not therefore be relished by those who loved to hear such doctrine as Burges and Marshall delivered:

"Not that I am ignorant, how far *pious antiquity* did use these, and such like words *innocently*, without ill mind or meaning, and without offence to the church, as

of hand, shuffled out of that Assembly, yet the zeal of some men to put Presbytery into its throne and exercise was such, that I was twice sent to by some members of both Houses, and summoned by the Committee of the County where I live, to preach at the consecration and installing of *this many-headed Bishop*, the new PRESBYTERY: Which work I twice (and so ever humbly) refused to do, as not having so studied its genealogy and descent, as to be assured of the legitimation, right, and title of sole Presbytery to

then times were: Yet let me tell you: (1.) Such swerving from *the form of sound words* used in the primitive and purest times, occasioned, and strengthened after errors. (2.) They were not then engaged to maintain truth against such erroneous and pernicious doctrines as we now are of the Reformed Church: Which doctrines are now eagerly maintained by a proud faction, who seek to abuse antiquity, and patronize their own errors by using those names and words, to other intents and things, than ever was dreamed of by the ancient Church. (3.) By such dangerous symbolizing with them in words and some outward formalities, we do but prepare our minds, and sweeten them, with less distaste to relish their doctrines and tenets; and, as it were, in a civil way, we compliment ourselves out of our truth; giving the adversaries strong hopes and presumptions, as they have discovered, that we are inclining towards them: To be ashamed of frequent, serious, and conscientious preaching, which was the work of Christ and the holy Apostles, the honour and chief employment of the primitive and best Bishops, and Ministers in all ages,—as that deservedly famous Bishop Jewel, in his *Apology* proves out of the Fathers sufficiently against the Pope, and other idle bellies, which count preaching as a work below their *greatness*, as indeed it is above their *goodness*,—*Is this to love the truth?*

"Certainly, had divines both small and great been more busied in preaching and practising those great, weighty, and necessary *truths*, *that are able to save their own and others' souls*, they would not have had such leisure to have been so inventive and operative in poor beggarly toys and trifles, which neither bring honour nor profit to God, themselves, or others. Nothing,—I say nothing,—will restore the Church and Churchmen to their pristine honour, love, and authority in men's hearts and minds, but a serious setting of themselves to the study, preaching, and practising of Truth and peace in a holy life. These were the arts, these the policies, these the pious frauds and stratagems by which anciently they won people's hearts to love God, his truth, and of themselves the witness of it: To such a height of honour and ecstasy of love, that they received them as Angels of God, Embassadors from heaven, counting them dear as their right eyes! Humility, piety, and industry laid the foundation of all those magnificent structures, dignities, titles, places, revenues, privileges, wherewith Churchmen were anciently endowed: What hath or is likely to waste and demolish them is easy to conjecture. *Iisdem artibus retinenda quibus olim parabantur.*"

Gauden, in those days, like his friend Archbishop Usher, considered himself a Cameronist; and, as the persons of that persuasion were accounted to be a kind of middle-men between Calvinists and Arminians, so may the former part of the following paragraph from this Sermon be recognized as partaking of the kindly nature of the quotation from Cudworth, in page lxiii, while the latter part of it savours a little of the persecuting spirit of the more resolute Calvinists, quoted in pages lxi, lxv:

"'*Contend then earnestly for the truth;*' (Jude 3;) but with '*the power of God*,' not man's arm of flesh; with a contention of *love*, not of *force*; such as may not destroy *men*, but their *errors*, which otherwise will destroy them. Truth

succeed, nay to remove, its ancient father Episcopacy, not as then quite dead, nor (I think) fully deposed. Yet such was the double diligence then of many English Divines, (men otherwise of useful abilities,) that they did as officiously attend on the Scotch Commissioners to set up Presbytery, and to destroy Episcopacy, as the maid is wont in pictures to wait on Judith, with a bag for Holofernes his head.—Besides this, Presbytery had then fortified itself with a special piece of policy, in order to its prevalency and perpetuity; which was, to engage the better sort of common people (or the Masters of every Parish, and so, in effect, the whole Populacy,) to that party, by indulging them, as Mr. Calvin did in Geneva, a formal or titular share of Consistorian or Ecclesiastical Power, under the glorious name of RULING ELDERS, on whom, as on *less comely members*, they were pleased to *bestow more abundant honour*, at least in words: For few of them could really be fit for, or even capable to use, any actual authority beyond that of Sides-men, Constables, Church-wardens, or Overseers for the Poor."

Such a valiant and disinterested defender, therefore, of Episcopacy and Good Order, in the worst of times, may assuredly be permitted to speak boldly in his own behalf, as he did, at the conclusion of his *Suspiria*, in 1659: "If what I have written may do any good to the present or after ages, I have my design; if not, I shall, by God's help, hereafter redeem this waste of time and labour, by applying to studies more suitable to my genius, spirit, and age, which may more improve those graces which are least in dispute among good Christians: Yet in this I have not wholly lost my labour; because I have hereby further discharged my own soul, my conscience and reputation, from any approbation of what I judge to be either the sins or imprudences, the wickedness or weakness of this age, in which I do not so much live, as die daily, weary that my soul finds so little hope of an happy rest or composure, unity or harmony, in our Church; which I had rather see and enjoy before I die, than to have the greatest preferment in the world. I envy no men that have wrapped up their worldly interests in their religious policies, and daily gain by the shrines of godliness they have made.

"Episcopacy is now far from being the object of any sober men's flattery or ambition; yet I cannot but look upon it with

is so sufficiently armed with its own power, that it needs not the assistance of the sword or canon, which reach not the minds of men, nor can divide them from their errors, nor batter down the strong-holds of prepossessed false opinions. That '*excellency of power*' which is in the Word of God and his Spirit, is only able to subdue the understanding. Yet must not the Magistrate so far be wanting to God's glory and the Church's good, as to fail to defend truth against those that by cunning or force seek to subvert it, setting up the just terror of those laws which may chase away those owls, and bats, and feral birds that love darkness and portend a night wherever they appear; that cannot endure the light, *because their works are evil*, as well as their doctrine false."

such an eye of pity and reverence, as primitive Christians were wont to do upon their Bishops, such as Polycarpus, Ignatius, Irenæus, Cyprian, and other martyrs, when they saw them *imprisoned, beaten, tormented, destroyed.*

"I plead for that reverend order, and those reverend persons, who have been made a spectacle to angels and men, such as to this present hour suffer both hunger and thirst, are naked and buffeted, having no certain dwelling-place; which being reviled do bless, being persecuted have suffered with patience, being defamed do intreat, and, being the glory of all churches, as to order, unity, and government in all ages, are now looked upon by many as *'the filth and off-scouring of all things:'* Yet am I one of those angels which attend Lazarus on his dunghill; I have chosen to follow the clear, though now more exhausted, stream of antiquity, rather than the troubled torrents of any novelties, which may be as short-lived as they have been suddenly started. I have looked upon all men's principles and pretensions, as to ecclesiastic affairs, with what candour, equanimity, and sincerity I could. If in any thing I was inclinable to be partial, it was neither for Presbytery nor Independency, I confess, which I never was catechized in, nor accustomed to, nor convinced of, as to any such piety or policy, wisdom or worth in them, which might make me see cause to desire or esteem them; but I was swayed against some things, not in the constitution, so much as in some men's administration of Episcopacy. I was originally principled to no small jealousies of Bishops' actions, when they were in their greatest glory and power; nor do I yet think but that some Bishops might have been greater Masters of pious Arts than they have proved: Yet I find now, that, in many things, people were more afraid than hurt.* For the main, I conclude, no Ministers or Governors, no Superintendencies or Presbyteries, in any Reformed way, exceeded the usefulness, merit, and excellency of our English Bishops and Presbyters; nor is any thing as to Church-government comparable to a primitive Episcopacy,

* This confession is manly, and tantamount to the frank acknowledgments made on the same subject, at an earlier date, by JENKYN, HUSSEY, and MANTON. (Pp. liii, lviii.)

In the preceding note I have shewn Gauden's "judgment to have been declared for the ancient and catholic Episcopacy," and in p. 535, I attribute "the complete change of doctrinal sentiments in Archbishop Usher," and in other Episcopal divines, among whom Gauden may be included, "to their deep and accurate acquaintance with the productions of the early Christian Fathers." The aversion displayed by Calvin, and by his early followers, to these ancient writings, is described in p. 430: and "the baneful effects of this principle of defection, in the Church of England," are briefly recited in a preceding page, (xlvi,) and, more particularly, in the long note, p. 686. After a perusal of the following quotation from Gauden's sermon before the Long Parliament, the reader will entertain a similar persuasion to mine, that unless the youthful preacher had received a friendly admonition from his aged friend Usher, or from some equally

which includes the just rights, liberties, or privileges both of Presbyters and People. I neither dispute nor deny any men's morals, intellectuals, devotionals, or spirituals, further than they seem much warped and eclipsed by their over-eager heats and injurious prosecutions against their antagonists the Episcopal Clergy and Church of England: But I absolutely blame those

wise man, he would, notwithstanding his real love of antiquity, have fallen into the snare of the Calvinian fowlers, to whose sentiments he was greatly inclined:

"Certainly God will severely exact of this church and nation, of prince and people, of preachers and hearers, an account for our long-enjoyed and undervalued truth and peace. Have we so long been a vine planted, and watered, and fenced, both to necessity and ornament, by an excessive indulgence of God, and do we bring forth sour grapes, that neither please God nor profit men? May we not justly fear (what we have deserved) to be laid waste and desolate, to be made a hissing and astonishment to all nations, that God should remove or extinguish the glorious lamp of the Gospel, in whose light we have not rejoiced, because we have not loved it?

"Do we love the truth, if we are weary of it, tediously and peevishly affected to it, willing to leave it and withdraw from it? The loathing and nauseating of this heavenly manna, as if we have had so much that it is necessary to recover and quicken men's appetites to it, by a more scanty allowance of it,—*is this to love the truth?* The tampering and essays of some to clip, or wash, or new coin, or alloy and abase, with some Romish mixture, the gold and purity of our doctrine,—*is this to love the truth?* that pure and refined truth, which hath passed the fiery trial, hath been baptized in the blood of many martyrs, sown in a field, made fruitful with their ashes, who loved not their lives so much as the truth! To set up lying vanities, pictures, and images, and to cry down praying and preaching, whereby those toils may be useful and necessary to the ignorant (because untaught) people,—*is this to love the truth?* To suffer idolatry, or superstitious formalities in serving God, to get ground upon our opinions and practices,—*is this to love the truth?* which, the less it hath of painting, the more it hath of true loveliness and native beauty. Are not the lengthening and increase of ceremonious shadows, a presage and sign of the shortening of our day and setting of our sun, or diminishing of our light?

"To quarrel at those truths which have been long ago determined by the Scripture, in the public confession of our Church, and in the writings or preachings of our gravest and learnedest Divines, Prelates, and others,—as in the points of Justification by Faith alone, of Transubstantiation, of Auricular Confession, of Prayer for the Dead, of Worshipping before Images, of Fiduciary Assurance, and the like, which some doting and superstitious spirits dare to question and retractate,—*is this to love the truth?* What hath been done by preaching and printing, by correcting, or rather corrupting, of books, (where the correctors themselves deserve to be corrected,) your piety and wisdom may best find out. Nay, such hath been the shameless impudence and effrontery of some ridiculous heads, that plain and honest minds shall be scorned, derided, and, in juggling fashion, cheated out of truth and the power of religion, (which is a holy life,) if you do not harden your faces, and confirm your resolutions, against the supercilious vanity of such men: Whether they have any intent to re-edify Babel's ruins, or no, I cannot tell: Some vehemently suspect it. Sure I am, there is such a confusion and novelty of language affectated by some men of *Altars*, *Sacrifice*, *Priests*, *Corporiety of Presence*, *Penance*, *Auricular Confession*, *Absolute*, that is, *blind Obedience*, *the Holy of Holies*, *and Adoration*, which must be salved from *a flat idolatry*, or at best *an empty formality*, by some distinction or notion that must be ready at hand, that most people know not what they mean, what they would have, or what they intend to call for next."

Ministers' want of politics and prudentials, who, by their Anti-Episcopal transports, have so far diminished not only themselves and their order as ministers, but the whole state of this Church, as to its harmony and honour, its peace and plenty, its unity and authority."—See pages lv, lvii.

3.—JOHN EVELYN, ESQ.

One of the most valuable of the modern publications which I have quoted, is Bray's *Memoirs, illustrative of the Life and Writings of John Evelyn, Esq., F.R.S.* Those passages in the Diary, which, to a common reader, will seem to be extremely trivial, are in reality of great consequence,* and have been selected with nice discrimination by the highly accomplished editor. No man of letters, who pretends to any acquaintance with the history of the interesting period in which Evelyn flourished, will neglect this important accession to the authentic records of the kingdom. In the composition of this "Comparison between Calvinism and Arminianism," I acknowledge myself to be under immense obligations to its instructive pages; and the intelligent reader will discover, especially in the second volume, that it has been my guide in some difficult passages of the Interregnum, in which no light is obtained from the cotemporaneous historians. Evelyn's intimacy and correspondence with all the principal Arminian clergy, render his artless accounts uncommonly affecting and instructive. A deep tone of genuine piety is heard in nearly every paragraph, and his style strongly reminds one of that of our old friend Isaac Walton. The conclusion of the following extract, from his polite and christian letter, addressed in 1664, to Lord Corneberry, is quite descriptive of the man: "In this one town of London, there are more wretched and obscene plays permitted, than in all the world besides. At Paris three days, at Rome two weekly, and at the other cities of Florence, Venice, &c. but at certain jolly periods of the year, and that not without some considerable emolument to the public; while our interludes here are every day alike: So as the ladies and the gallants come reeking from the play late on Saturday night, to their Sunday Devotions; the idea of the farce possesses their fantasies to the

* Thus, the subjoined brief notices, which occur under the several dates, in different parts of the Diary, are exceedingly important in serving to prove, that the famous *Continuator of Baker's Chronicle*, whose authority I have often quoted, was a man well-qualified, both by his talents and from his opportunities, to execute such an undertaking:

"Oct. 24, 1663. Mr. Edward Phillips came to be my son's preceptor. This gentleman was nephew to Milton, who wrote against Salmasius's *Defensio*, but was not at all infected with his principles, though brought up by him.—Feb. 24, 1665. Mr. Phillips, preceptor to my son, went to be with the Earl of Pembroke's son, my Lord Herbert.—Sept. 18, 1677. I preferred Mr. Phillips (nephew of Milton) to the service of my Lord Chamberlain, [Lord Arlington] who wants a scholar to read and entertain him sometimes."

infinite prejudice of devotion, besides the advantages it gives to our reproachful blasphemers. Could not Friday and Saturday be spared? Or if indulged, might they not be employed for the support of the poor, or as well the maintenance of some work-house as a few debauched comedians? What, if they had an hundred pound per annum, less coming in! This were but policy in them; more than they were born to, and the only means to consecrate (if I may use the term) their scarce allowable impertinences. If my Lord Chancellor would be but instrumental in reforming this one exorbitancy, it would gain both the King and his Lordship multitudes of blessings. You know, my Lord, that I (who have written a play, and am a scurvy poet too sometimes,) am far from Puritanism; but I would have no reproach left our adversaries, in a thing which may so conveniently be reformed. Plays are now with us become a licentious excess and a vice, and need severe censors, that should look as well to their morality as to their lines and numbers."

4.—GROTIUS AND LAUD.

A SKETCH of the personal history of these eminent individuals is given in pages 566—768.

Of Archbishop Laud I shall, in this place, say very little, since much concerning him will be found in other parts of the volume. In page 684, I have said, "Grant me but one small and not "unreasonable concession, similar to that which in our days is "demanded for the personal obliquities of every Republican Dema-"gogue, or petty Independent Pastor, under the Commonwealth, "—allow me to plead *a consideration of the aspect of the times, the "peculiar difficulties of his situation,* and *the inflamed state of parties,* "—and I will undertake to prove, that Laud's patriotism was in "reality purer and more disinterested, than that of any of his "Calvinistic cotemporaries, who had an opportunity of display-"ing the genuineness of their patriotism in their public actions." —The facts which I have adduced, and the epistolary correspondence which I have translated, will, I hope, stand in proof not only of the Archbishop's *transcendant love of his country,* but likewise of his *extensive philanthropy.*

I have already mentioned, (p. cxvi,) the antipathy against this eminent Prelate, which I had conceived early in life: This unfavourable impression, however, was afterwards removed by the high character of him which the famous LIMBORCH has given in the preface to that inestimable collection of letters, entituled *Præstantium ac Eruditorum Epistolæ.* In the year 1812, an intimate friend, to whom as a lover of learning I am under the greatest obligations, presented me with a fine copy of the first edition of Limborch's collection, which, both for the sake of the donor and of its Arminian contents, I perused with the greatest

avidity; and to that noble work I acknowledge myself indebted for many of those enlarged views of the ecclesiastical affairs of Europe, and particularly those of England and Holland, which I have obtained, and of which the reader will discover some traces in various parts of this volume. I had learned from Limborch's correspondence with Locke, that our great countryman, during his exile in Holland, immediately prior to the Revolution in 1688, received from the liberal Dutch Professor ample encouragement to those Whiggish principles which he had imbibed, and which he afterwards so ably defended; and I knew, that a man so warmly attached to free institutions, as Limborch had proved himself to be, would never have written the following character of the ill-fated English Prelate, unless he had believed him to be what he has here depicted: "But the very reverend William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, who, on account of his religion, was beheaded by hot zealots, here shews himself entitled to the highest admiration. Though attacked with grievous accusations, and loaded with numerous calumnies, in his most familiar letters to Vossius he gives no utterance to curses against his ferocious enemies; but, imitating the example of his Saviour, when reviled, he reviled not again, and, when attacked, he threatened not, but blessed them who cursed him, and poured forth the most ardent prayers for his persecutors. In these letters, he is so fully acquitted of that monstrous accusation with which his most implacable enemies, openly before all the world and most invidiously, traduced him,—*as though his attempts had been directed to bring back the authority of the Pope into the Church of England*,—that it is not possible for calumny herself to discover any thing in him on which to fasten her talons. This volume contains his continued importunities, repeated at least ten times in his letters, for Vossius to undertake the province of confuting Baronius. Indeed, he never desisted from pressing him into that employment: In one of his letters he says, 'I am particularly desirous to behold Baronius [the Popish Annalist] 'falling under the force of your weapons, before the destinies 'open the tomb for me; you cannot therefore expect to receive 'any letter from me without a repetition of this stimulus.'"—See the preceding part of this letter in page 577.

Notwithstanding Bishop Burnet's unjust vituperations, this is not a solitary encomium from the pen of a man of acknowledged candour: I have subsequently met with other as ample and impartial testimonies in the Archbishop's favour, from eminent Whig Divines of the Church of England. Several circumstances respecting Laud, and the peculiar situation in which he was placed, receive elucidation from Bray's valuable *Memoirs of Evelyn*; and though I shall introduce a further notice of the good Archbishop in the second volume, yet, from a perusal of what I

have now written, every man of piety and ingenuousness will, I am persuaded, be induced to conceive a still more exalted opinion of that great man and of his public measures.

Those who wish to behold the praises to which HUGO GROTIUS, or HUGH DE GROOT, is justly entitled, and which he has received in ample measure from admiring friends and reluctant foes, may consult Sir THOMAS POPE BLOUNT'S *Censura celebriorum Authorum*. His well-earned reputation is founded on too durable a basis to be moved by such petty attacks as those to which I have alluded in a previous part of this Introduction, (p. xxxi,) or those of Mr. Orme in page 641.

That a man so accomplished, virtuous, fearless, and unfortunate, should have had many enemies among his cotemporaries, is not wonderful: But the number of those who evinced their hatred to him, or to his philanthropic labours, increased after his decease, when they could display it with impunity. "This very pious, learned, and judicious man," says Dr. Hammond, "hath of late, among many, fallen under a very unhappy fate, being most unjustly calumniated, sometimes as a SOCINIAN, sometimes as a PAPIST, and,—as if he had learnt to reconcile contradictories, or the most distant extremes,—sometimes as *both of them together!*"

One cause of the charge of SOCINIANISM being preferred against him, has been already mentioned, (p. xxxiii,) and it is more fully explained in pages 637—642. The reader will not require many additional reasons to convince him of the untenable ground for such an accusation, when he is told that VOETIUS, one of the most violent of his enemies, laid down this grand axiom—"to place the principal part of religion in *an observance of Christ's commands*, is RANK SOCINIANISM!"—To such *a practical observance of the requisitions of the Gospel*, by what name soever it might be stigmatized, Grotius pleaded guilty. He says, (p. 637,) "I perceive this was accounted the principal part of religion by the Christians of the primitive ages; and their various assemblies, divines, and martyrs taught, 'that the doctrines *necessary to be* '*known* are exceedingly few, but that God forms his estimate of 'us from the purpose and intention of an obedient spirit.' I am likewise of the same opinion, and shall never repent of having maintained it."

But as the charge of POPERY is of the utmost importance, I have discussed this topic at great length, (pp. 566—746,) and have proved, (pp. 549, 561,) that Grotius was as little attached to the principles or the practice of the Romish Church, as the most zealous of his accusers. Whatever tends to vindicate the conduct of Grotius in this matter, will operate still more powerfully in favour of Archbishop Laud. The design of Grotius is well described by Dr. Hammond in a *Digression* which he added to his *Answer to the Animadversions on his Dissertations*; in which he says:

"For the charge of Popery that is fallen upon him, it is evident from whence that flows,—either from his *profest opposition to many doctrines of some Reformers, Zuinglius, and Calvin, &c.* Or from his *Annotations on Cassander, and the Debates with Rivet consequent thereto,* the *Votum pro Pace* and *Discussio.*

"For the former of these, it is sufficiently known what contests there were, and at length how profest the divisions betwixt the Remonstrant and Contra-remonstrant; and it is confessed, that he maintained (all his time) the Remonstrant's party, vindicating it from all charge, whether of PELAGIANISM or SEMI-PELAGIANISM, which was by the opposers objected to it, and pressing the favourers of the doctrine of Irrespective Decrees with the odious consequences of making *God the Author and Favourer of sin,* and frequently expressing his sense of the evil influences that some of those doctrines were experimented to have on men's lives. And by these means it is not strange, that he should fall under great displeasure from those who, having espoused the opinion of Irrespective Decrees, did not only publish it as THE TRUTH, and TRUTH OF GOD, but farther asserted the questioning of it to be injurious to God's Free Grace and his Eternal Election, and consequently retained no ordinary patience for or charity to opposers. But then, still, this is no medium to infer that charge. The doctrines which he thus maintained, were neither branches nor characters of Popery, but asserted by some of the first and most learned and pious Reformers. Witness the writings of Hemingius in his *Opuscula,* most of which are on these subjects. Whereas, on the contrary side, Zuinglius and others, who maintained the rigid way of Irrespective Decrees, and infused them into some of this nation of ours, are truly said, by an excellent writer of ours, Dr. Jackson, to *have had it first from some ancient Romish Schoolmen,* and so to have had as much, or more, of that guilt adherent to them, as can be charged on their opposers. So that from hence, to found the jealousy, to affirm him a Papist because he was not a Contra-remonstrant, is but the old method of speaking all that is ill of those who differ from our opinions in any thing; as the Dutchman in his rage calls his horse an ARMINIAN, because he doth not go as he would have him. And this is all that can soberly be concluded from such suggestions, that they are displeased and passionate that thus speak.

"As for the *Annotations on Cassander, &c., and the consequent vindications of himself against Rivet,* those have with some colour been deemed more favourable toward Popery; but yet, I suppose, will be capable of benign interpretations, if they be read with these few cautions or remembrances:

"*First.*—That they were designed to shew a way to peace, whensoever men's minds on both sides should be piously affected to it.

" *Secondly.*—That he did not hope for this temper in this age, the humour on both sides being so turgent, and extremely contrary to it, and the controversy debated on both sides by those ' who,' saith he, ' *desire to eternize, and not to compose, contentions,*' and therefore makes his appeal to posterity, when this paroxysm shall be over.

" *Thirdly.*—That, for the chief usurpations of the Papacy, he leaves it to Christian Princes to join together to vindicate their own rights, and reduce the Pope *ad Canones,* to that temper which the ancient Canons allow and require of him ; and, if that will not be done, to reform every one within their own dominions.

" *Fourthly*—That, what he saith in favour of some Popish doctrines, above what some other learned Protestants have said, is not so much by way of *assertion* or *justification* of them, as to shew what reasons they may justly be thought to proceed upon, and so not to be so irrational or impious as they are ordinarily accounted; and this only in order to the peace of the Christian world, that we may have as much charity to others and not as high animosities, live with all men as sweetly, and amicably, and peaceably, and not as bitterly as is possible, accounting the wars, and seditions, and divisions, and rebellions, that are raised and managed upon the account of religion, far greater and more scandalous unchristian evils, than are the errors of some Romish doctrines, especially as they are maintained by the more sober and moderate men among them, Cassander, Picherel, &c.

" *Fifthly.*—What he saith in his *Discussio* of a conjunction of Protestants with those that adhere to the Bishop of Rome, is no farther to be extended, than his words extend it.—(1.) That there is not any other visible way to the end there mentioned by him, of acquiring or preserving universal unity.—(2.) That this is to be done, not crudely, by returning to them as they are, submitting our necks to our former yoke, but by taking away at once the division, and the causes of it, on which side soever; adding only, in the third place, that the bare primacy of the Bishop of Rome, *secundum Canones,* such as the ancient Canons allow of, (which hath nothing of *supreme universal power* or authority in it,) is none of those causes, nor consequently necessary to be excluded in the διαλλακτικον, citing that as the confession of that excellent person Philip Melancthon.

" So that, in effect, that whole speech of his, which is so solemnly vouched by Mr. Knot, and looked on so jealously by many of us, is no more than this, ' that such a Primacy of the ' Bishop of Rome, as the ancient Canons allowed him, were, for ' so glorious an end as is the regaining the peace of Christendom, ' very reasonably to be afforded him, nay absolutely necessary to ' be yielded him, whensoever any such catholic union shall be ' attempted ;' which, as it had been the express opinion of Me-

lancthon, one of the first and wisest Reformers, so it is far from any design of establishing the usurpations of the Papacy, or any of their false doctrines attending them, but only designed as an expedient for the restoring the peace of the whole Christian world, which every disciple of Christ is so passionately required to contend and pray for."

At the conclusion of the Doctor's *Continuation of the Defence of* HUGO GROTIUS, he thus expresses himself:

"As this is an act of mere justice and charity to the dead,—and no less to those who, by their sin of uncharitable thoughts towards him, are likely to deprive themselves of the benefit of his labours,—so is it but a proportionable return of debt and gratitude to the signal value and kindness which, in his life time, he constantly professed to pay to this Church and nation; expressing his opinion, 'that, of all Churches in the world, it was the 'most careful observer and transcriber of primitive antiquity,' and more than intimating his desire to end his days in the bosom and communion of our mother. Of this I want not store of witnesses, which from time to time have heard it from his own mouth whilst he was Ambassador in France, and even in his return to Sweden immediately before his death: And, for a real evidence of this truth, it is no news to many, that, at the taking his journey from Paris, he appointed his wife, whom he left behind, to resort to the English assembly at the Agent's house, which accordingly she is known to have practised.

"As far as the English Establishment is removed from Socinian and Popish, so far this learned man stands vindicated from both these aspersions; which makes me the less wonder, that some others, who have endeavoured to maintain their constancy of adherence and submission to the Church of England, are in like manner most injuriously aspersed by those who have departed from it. '*Lord, lay not this sin to their charge!*'"

With regard to the political principles of Grotius, the reader will discover, that, in advanced life, they were those of a man whom we should designate as "a Whig of 1688." In the *Concordia discors et Antichristus revelatus*, which the celebrated Samuel Marets, (p. 270,) published against Grotius, in 1642, it is said: "It is impossible to tolerate this, especially in Grotius,—his "sufficiently open avowal, *that kings are not of Divine Institution:* "For, he places those kings who are first chosen by the will of "the people, in opposition to those famous [seventy] judges who "were instituted by God, as is apparent from Numbers xi, 16." On this passage the witty Bayle remarks: "This, to be sure, is singular enough: For Grotius is always refuted upon *his having too much subjected the people to the royal prerogative.* After this, let nobody say that none but the Lutherans approve of Grotius's maxims: Here you see a Calvinist minister, who does not think that Grotius had spoken very favourably of Monarchy!"—When

a great man is thus blamed alternately for a bias towards *popular* and *regal* rights, we are not at a loss in what class to place him: He belongs to the class of persons who are governed by moderate principles. Those who are conversant with the nervous and manly writings on political subjects, in which some of the most famous of our countrymen indulged between 1660 and 1690, know, that Grotius was perpetually appealed to, not only by the advocates for POPULARITY, but likewise by those for ROYALTY. The truth is, Grotius had, by painful experience, known enough of the boasted LIBERTY of a Republic, and therefore retracted some of those unguarded expressions which he had formerly employed in favour of that form of government. Unlike many of his cotemporaries, however, he did not run into the opposite extreme and applaud all the appalling encroachments of tyrants; but his principles kept him at an equal distance from the LICENTIOUSNESS into which *liberty* too often degenerates, and from that fearful SERVILITY which is frequently produced by too ardent *a love of subordination and obedience.*

5.—RIVET AND DU MOULIN.

OF Andrew RIVET and some of his performances the reader will perceive, that I have said quite enough in the following pages, 230, 285—92, 745, 748—52. He was a most unfair and disingenuous adversary towards Grotius, whose ashes he would not suffer to rest in peace. I have said, in page 284, that "Rivet was the accredited organ of the French and Dutch Calvinists, and was aided," in the composition of his pamphlets against Grotius, "by the whole Calvinian phalanx in Europe:" The truth of this fact is well known to all those who are acquainted with the complexity of his virulent productions.

His brother-in-law, the elder Peter Du Moulin, has also received ample notice in this volume; (see pages 215, 223, 230, 281, 290, 392, 554, 580,) and those who are aware of the very iniquitous part which he and his family acted, in fomenting the public disturbances of this kingdom, in whose bosom they had been generously cherished, will not think my exposure of their malevolent spirit and pragmatical conduct to be at all misplaced. He had two sons, Louis and Peter, both of whom obtained preferment in England; and the latter of them, during our civil broils, became an exemplary loyal divine, while his brother Louis continued one of the most seditious firebrands in the kingdom. After the Restoration, Louis's indignation was aroused at the great defection from the ranks of Presbytery and Calvinism, in the persons of certain great men, whom he mentions, and who, having received their education at Cambridge, are some of the individuals described under the appellation of "Latitude-men" in page 798. The following are Louis's words: "From all these

hypotheses, I gather these conclusions, which naturally follow the aforesaid premises.—(1.) That several Bishops and Doctors of the Church of England, as Dr. Floyd, Dr. Tillotson, Dr. Stillingfleet, Dr. Patrick, that are acknowledged by the Nonconformists to be persons of great learning, worth, and piety, but who are extreme admirers of the Episcopacy of England and all its consequences, and who have also preferred its government to all other establishments in Europe, have, by an unlucky accident, contributed more towards the reputation of the English hierarchy and its practices, and towards the perpetuating the feuds and quarrels between the Conformists and Nonconformists, than it has been possible for any other corrupted party to do by all their irregularities and advances towards Rome.

" (2.) That it may be said of these good Bishops and Doctors before mentioned, what the politic sages have observed of Anselme, Bernard, Thomas Aquinas, John of Salisbury, and Gerson, ' that by their great repute of piety and learning, they ' have contributed more to the strengthening of the Pope's tyranny ' and religion, in the minds of the people, than a hundred such ' as Gregory the VIIth and Boniface the VIIIth were able to ' effect, by their tyranny and the wickedness and impurity of their ' lives, for the discrediting of the Pope and his religion.'

" (3.) That it is not to be believed how much the Nonconformists of England suffer in the esteem of our great men of the Protestant party in Europe, who, hearing people talk of the learning and piety of so many English Bishops and Doctors, all Conformists, and who resemble those four Doctors I have just before named, say aloud, ' that the Nonconformists must needs ' be very unreasonable, and of a very nice and fantastical piety, ' for refusing to conform to the Church of England, after the ' example of those four Doctors.'

" (4.) That how good soever the intentions of some of the Bishops and Doctors of the Church of England may be that are of the same temper of spirit with these four Doctors, and what kindness soever they may have for the Nonconformists, it is impossible they should ever come over to them, and consent to terms of reconciliation and moderation, so long as they remain in this judgment and opinion, ' that of all the established ecclesias- ' tical governments in Europe, that of the Church of England is ' the most excellent, and the most Apostolical, and that there is ' nothing of defect in it;' and so long as the multitude of their benefices, and the great honour they are in in the world, blinds their judgment, there being no likelihood nor hopes, that those who are raised so high, and that live in honour and abundance, richly and fatly, (unless they will imitate good Dr. Floyd, who bestows most of his Church-revenues on the poor,) will diminish any thing of their greatness, both as to their retinue or their kitchen, and will descend from high to low; and that a Bishop,

who now goes before the Barons, will quit his place to be only a poor simple Moderator, and watchman over a small company of priests, such as were St. Cyprian and St. Austin. For this eminence of fortune and dignity does absolutely shut up the door to all the overtures of Reformation, which we learn from Monsieur CLAUDE in his *Defence of the Reformation of the Churches of France*, where he tells us, 'that the Cardinal du Prat, for this 'very reason, was the most violent of all men, and the most 'enraged against Luther's Reformation, because he was provided 'of five Bishopricks, and I know not how many other good and 'fat benefices.'"

In another part of the same work, he observes, with all the *naïvetè* of a Frenchman: "I will begin with the heat and passion of my friends against me, and with the judgment which they make upon *my Short and True Account*, &c. They say, 'that that 'book is altogether now unseasonable, when as persons of great 'learning, piety, and merit, and who, at the bottom, are very 'sincere and upright in the Church of England,—such as Dr. 'Floyd, Dr. Tillotson, Dr. Stillingfleet and Dr. Patrick,* to

* In his *Advances towards Rome*, Du Moulin is particularly severe upon Dr. Patrick, for "joining hands with Sherlock, Bull, Bramhall," and other Divines, "in burlesquing upon the doctrine of *Imputative Righteousness*." For proof of this, he "cites some passages from the Doctor's book called *the Pilgrim*," an allegory which served as a foundation for the "Pilgrim's Progress" by Bunyan. He then makes the following remarks, some of which are exceedingly judicious:

"If Dr. Patrick, who resembles Gregory the First, the best of bad Popes and the worst of good ones, does in so erroneous a manner run away from the Church of England, as it was about a hundred years ago, and from all the Protestant Divines, as well Lutherans as Calvinists, as well English as French; what sinister judgment may be made of a hundred of his colleagues, who are much inferior to him both in the profession of holiness of doctrine and of life? I would take for example Dr. JEREMY TAYLOR, Bishop in Ireland, one of the most learned men that England or Ireland ever produced, but yet who is the same, or rather vies with Dr. Patrick, about the doctrines that are quite different from the first Reformation in the time of Edward the Sixth; for he denies *original sin*: He says, with the Poet,

Lex est, non pœna, perire;

that death is a law of nature, and not a punishment of sin; that concupiscence is not a sin, neither in those who are baptized, nor in those who are not. He establishes the works of supererogation, and the conjunction of the grace of God with the strength of man, which give their mutual assistance to the working of man's salvation.

"But he has set forth a large book, where he strongly proves, that religion ought not to be established by persecution, for it is contrary to the very spirit and temper of Christianity. Wherein the Doctor's conduct has been diametrically opposite to the carriage of those who are joined with him in the design and endeavour of his getting near to Rome: For these, at the same time that they have made shipwreck concerning the faith, as the Apostle speaks, have broken off all charity towards their brethren, and have clothed themselves with the spirit of animosity, malignity, and persecution; and, after they have abandoned God his truth, they have revenged themselves of that loss, by that of love and affec-

'whom I might join Professor Burnet,—are making it their 'business, as they think it their duty, to re-unite the two parties, 'the Conformists and the Nonconformists, and when they are 'most industriously employed in reducing to practice the means 'of peace and concord, according to Mr. Richard Baxter's model; 'and that, instead of lending them my helping hand, and assisting 'them in so good a work, I am doing what I can to divide both 'parties, and to exasperate and embitter them one against the 'other.'"

The book to which he refers is a vile publication, entituled, "A short and true Account of the several Advances the Church of England hath made towards Rome." Its design, he says, was "to disengage and free all honest persons, such as are the above "mentioned doctors, from the corrupt party of their Church, to "join and confederate themselves with that of the Noncon-"formists; that so those two parties might consolidate in one, "and consequently be more capable to act with greater zeal and "vigour against the third party, that are making their *advances* "*towards Rome.*"—This will appear a vain attempt, if the reader seriously reflect on the noble account which those truly great men have given (page 798,) of their well-grounded and mature attachment to Episcopacy and Arminianism, when neither the one nor the other had any preferment to bestow. They had imbibed all the Christian liberality of the system of Arminius, while the Church of England lay in ruins; and some of them had quoted HALES's tract *on Schism* with approbation. It was not therefore to be expected, that they would be induced, by such weak arguments as those of Louis Du Moulin, and "others

tion towards those whose purity of doctrine, and holiness of life, have been a continual reproach and eye-sore to them: Which is a thing that Doctor Taylor has never done. For how erroneous soever that Doctor was as to matter of doctrine, he was yet endowed with two very excellent qualities;—the one, *that he was of a most exemplary life*, as he did sufficiently testify it in his carriage and by his writings;—the other, *that he had an affectionate tenderness, and love, and pity, for those who did not agree with him*, either in the profession of the same doctrine, or in the practice of its ceremonies. In which he differed very much from his brethren in the work of the ministry, who satisfy themselves with the profession of a superficial piety; who easily do digest and swallow non-residency, plurality of benefices, and preaching by a deputy, and the divertisement of the play-house, or of a pack of cards; and who insult over such as Baxter, Owen, Annesly, Jenkins, Bates, Watson, Howe, and the rest, for driving men to desperation, and so to hell, by too rigorously pressing the practice of piety. That is the *irarum causa, et hinc illæ lachrymæ;* and why they mortally hate those holy persons. But I cannot but strangely wonder, why they do not put St. Paul amongst such desperate Divines, from whose mouth and pen issued forth more severe and thundering doctrincs and menaces than ever came from Mr. Baxter, &c., and that they do not blot out of their bibles this holy Apostle's rousing saying, (2 Cor. v, 10,) '*That we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive according to that he hath done, whether it be good or evil.*' And who tells us, that '*Those that live after the flesh shall die.*'"

of the Congregational way," to abandon the cause which they had deliberately espoused. His pamphlet, however, is a fair specimen of the indecent railing and ignominious treatment which Tillotson and the Latitudinarians were compelled to receive, from those who had at that æra chosen the road of Dissent. Du Moulin quotes the opinion which his elder brother Peter, the loyal divine, entertained of his scandalous conduct: "'I consider 'my poor brother as *a man raised by the evil spirit,* for the destruc-'tion of the Church: It would be a double fault in me to assist 'him to do evil.' I alledge these words, not out of any ill-will to complain of my brother, but to advance and extol his kindnesses to me, which are so much the greater and more obliging, in that he acts quite contrary to what he threatens me with."

To understand this sentence, it is necessary to know, that Louis had been deprived of the Professorship of History at Oxford, and, like many worthies of his class, was then practising medicine in the metropolis. His brother Peter, who enjoyed considerable preferment in the Church, augmented Louis's precarious income by his opportune bounty, to which he thus refers in his *Advances towards Rome:* "As I was just shutting up this discourse, Monsieur de l'Angle, Canon of Canterbury and Minister of the French Church in the Savoy, gave me an entrance into another, in which, after he had declared to me the good intentions that my elder brother had to bestow upon me his liberalities, he thought he was obliged, as a Minister of Jesus Christ, and as my near kinsman, to tell me in good earnest, 'that the reason of 'the diminution of my brother's bounty to me, proceeded from 'that enmity which I testified with so much heat and bitterness 'against the Church of England; that I, (more than all the men 'of the world amassed together,) had an account to make to 'Almighty God, for that my unchristian spirit and rude treat-'ment of it;' and hereupon, having represented to me that the time of my dissolution could not be very far off, being turned of seventy-four, he exhorted me, without any farther delay, 'to fall seriously to the work of making my peace with God, and 'getting my conscience into a calm and serene temper, by prac-'tising the duties of repentance, and by labouring to live and die 'in the persuasion of the pardon, not only of all my sins past, but 'especially of those which I had committed against the Church 'of England, which I had so much disparaged and scandalized, 'both by my writings and speech.'"

This exhortation to repentance was not unseasonable, for the pragmatical old physician died about six months afterwards; and the reader will perceive an exact similarity between the spirit breathing in the two productions which I have quoted, and that which was displayed by his father, than whom the Church of England had not a more insidious adversary.

6.—THE REV. WILLIAM ORME.

THIS gentleman's MEMOIRS *of the Life and Writings of* Dr. JOHN OWEN have been severely criticized by me in various parts of this volume: (See pages 91, 380, 389, 402, 416, 448, 504, 640, 747, 785.) I have more strictures yet to produce on a few other of his most glaring mis-statements, which (p. 787,) I have charitably imputed to Mr. Orme's *weakness* rather than to sheer *wickedness*. Indeed from "the getting-up" of his work, I perceive it to be one of the most easy literary enterprizes that was ever undertaken, to write the MEMOIRS of any eminent divine, who had distinguished himself early in life by his pragmatical and ambitious conduct, and afterwards by a forced kind of penitence, and by the composition of various devotional publications. When stubborn facts from all quarters, from Calvinistic friends and Episcopalian enemies, are marshalled in battle-array against such a character, the only thing necessary to repel the troublesome assailants, according to this modern practice of Biography, is, to substitute one's own unsupported denial of the circumstances adduced, and to say "*I believe*," or "*I am quite satisfied* to the contrary!" Another grand requisite in such productions seems to be, that of collecting together all "the thrice-refuted" slanders concerning other pious and accomplished individuals, whose misfortune it was to differ on some doctrinal or political matters from "the hero of the tale," and by a little address to make such censures bear the semblance of new and well-founded accusations. Petty tricks of this description, I might enumerate in abundance; but those to which I have alluded, sufficiently indicate Mr. Orme's style of writing, and the *extent* of his research, as they appear in his *Memoirs of Dr. Owen*.

In delivering such an opinion as this, concerning a cotemporary author, I know I am offending against very high authority: For the public has been somewhat ostentatiously informed, by a Review in the LONDON CONGREGATIONAL MAGAZINE for October 1822, (which Review, some of Mr. Orme's Independent associates rather shrewdly assert, was written by *a very friendly hand*,) that "in an article in the 71st number of the Edinburgh Review, generally ascribed to Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH, who is himself a host on any question relating to British History, speaking of *the Memoirs of Owen*, it is said, 'In this very able volume it is clearly 'proved, that THE INDEPENDENTS *were the first teachers of religious 'liberty.*'" If, however, Sir James should ever cast his eye on this Introduction, I would refer him to pages lxviii, and lxxxvi, in proof, that the Calvinistic part of the Independents were neither *the first* nor *the best* "teachers of religious liberty," but that "such honour" belongs in England to the Republican Statesmen, and the Arminians of the New School, nearly all of whom derived

their religion and politics from the free institutions of Holland and the liberal writings of the Dutch Arminians.—See pages 6 and 791.

7.—THE LATE REV. THOMAS SCOTT.

In this volume I have mentioned the Rev. Thomas Scott's name very seldom; (pp. xxxi, xlvi, 435, 573;) but several other passages will be found, which correct some of the egregious misstatements in his *Articles of the Synod of Dort*, to which he has prefixed *the History of Events which made way for that Synod.*—In the first volume of the *Works of* Arminius, (p. 510,) I made a promise, to give the public a refutation of the most glaring of Mr. Scott's errors, in a new edition of Bishop Womack's *Calvinists' Cabinet Unlocked:* But as it will be some months before I can commence that publication, I subjoin a few remarks on one part of Mr. Scott's performance.

I omit all animadversion on the curious circumstance, that an old gentleman, who had been nearly forty years employed in instructing mankind from the pulpit and the press *in the doctrines of Calvin*, should know so little about them as to be so absolutely ignorant of that grand modification of them which was astutely framed by the Synod of Dort. This fact, however, and its astonishing concomitants, will receive due attention at some other opportunity.

I. After informing his readers, in the Introduction, that he "makes no pretensions to any thing beyond *fairness* and *exactness* in giving the meaning of the original," Mr. Scott immediately subjoins, "Had I been disposed to aim at it, I do not think "myself competent to the office of translating in such a manner, "as to invest the Latin, fairly and fully, with the entire idiom "of the English language."—Mr. Scott's *incompetency* to do this "fairly and fully," or even to convey "the meaning of the original," is displayed in the first page of his translation, and, I think without a single exception, in each of the succeeding pages. The passage to which I allude stands thus, in Mr. Scott's English: "It pleased the illustrious and most mighty the States "General, that the Acts also of the same Synod, faithfully tran-"scribed from the public registers, (*tabulis*,) should be published "in print, for the satisfaction and use of the Churches. And as "in these (records) many things every where occur, which per-"tain to the history of the things transacted in the Belgic "Churches," &c. Some confused meaning might have been gleaned by the mere English reader, from this very bald translation, had Mr. Scott refrained from his parenthetical additions, which amount to *four*, before we arrive at the close of the lengthy sentence. In two of these additions, the words *tabulis* and *quibus* are rendered into English by "registers" and "records:" The

latter term, however, to which *quibus* refers, should have been "Acts." The translator was led into this error by his lamentable want of accurate information on the subjects which he undertook to elucidate. In the Introduction to this *Historical Preface*, he has given the following ample explanation of his very *original* views of the misconceived and mistranslated word: "In perusing "this Preface and the History contained in it, the reader should "especially recollect, that it was drawn up and published by the "authority and with the sanction of the States General and the "Prince of Orange, as well as by that of the Synod itself; and "that, in every part of it, the *Acts*, or public records in which "the events recorded were registered, are referred to with the "exact dates of each transaction. No History can therefore be "attested as authentic, in a more satisfactory and unexception-"able manner: For, whatever degree of colouring prejudices or "partiality may be supposed to have given to the narration, it "can hardly be conceived, that collective bodies and individuals "filling up such conspicuous and exalted stations would ex-"pressly attest any thing *directly false*, and then appeal to "authorities by which the falsehood of their statement might at "any time be detected and exposed."

I cannot anticipate the surprise of the impartial reader, when he is made acquainted with the plain facts of the case, which is thus artfully mystified. "The Acts," that Mr. Scott here attempts to magnify into "PUBLIC RECORDS in which the events recorded were registered," were nothing more than *those portions of the public proceedings of the Synod of Dort, which, after much polishing and alteration, it was deemed proper to publish*; and the word "*tabulis*" which Mr. Scott has rendered by the convertible terms "Records" and "Registers," were nothing more than *the written Journals of the Synod's proceedings, which were composed at intervals* BETWEEN *or* DURING *the different sessions, and which were afterwards abridged and modified with great labour, by the secretaries themselves, into what are here called* "THE ACTS!"—If, therefore, either of these, the *original* or the *copy*, had "attested any thing *directly false*," an APPEAL from the one to the other would only be an "appeal" from the *Synodical Journal* to its *Abridgment*, or *vice versâ*, and not "to AUTHORITIES by which the falsehood of their statement might at any time be detected and exposed." For, these Journals of the Calvinistic secretaries, which had been got up in a most objectionable manner, were by no means "PUBLIC RECORDS;" and no place was ever appointed in which they might be deposited for purposes of reference.

But every Latin scholar, on inspecting the language of Heinsius, which Mr. Scott has dreadfully mangled as well by his interpolations as by his attempts at translation, will at once perceive, that the original phraseology applies solely to the "ACTS" themselves, that is, to the *ex-parte* account which the Calvinists

published of the proceedings of the Synod at each of their sessions; and that it cannot, without wilful force, be so interpreted as to relate at all to those "PUBLIC REGISTERS" or "RECORDS," which Mr. Scott has at last, by means of his artful comments, made to signify "the Historical Preface" translated by himself into English. This perversion of the obvious meaning of the Latin words will be evident even to a common English reader, after he has perused the subjoined sentence, which immediately follows that already quoted from Mr. Scott, (p. cxlii,) and in which the first mention occurs of this *Historical Preface*, here correctly said to be *an abridgment of the Brief Narrative of the affairs transacted with the Remonstrants, which Narrative had been at first composed by the deputies of the South Holland Churches*, that is, by the most rigid Supralapsarians in Europe. "And as in these" [RECORDS is Mr. Scott's interpolation, when the relative belongs solely to the SYNODICAL ACTS,] "many things every where "occur, which pertain to the history of the things transacted in "the Belgick Churches, and which could less advantageously be "understood or judged of, by readers who were ignorant of these "things: For which cause, even the National Synod (as it may "be seen in the different sessions,) sometimes enjoined, especially "on the deputies of the South Holland Churches, to write a brief "narrative of the affairs transacted with the Remonstrants: It "seemed good to prefix, in the place of *a Preface*, from it (that "History) some things which were publickly transacted, that the "foreign churches especially might for once know, with good "fidelity, what was *the rise and progress of these controversies*, and "*on what occasion and for what causes* the illustrious and most "mighty the States General convened this celebrated Synod at "a very great expence."—Such, in Mr. Scott's own version of "the Historical Preface," is the real origin of that document: What a difference between it and the splendid account which I have already quoted, (p. cxliii,) from his Introduction to the translation!

In elevating this obsolete PREFACE to a height to which, in all previous Calvinistic aspirings, it had never before been raised, Mr. Scott informs his readers, (p, cxliii,) "that it was drawn up "and published by the authority and with the sanction of the "States General and the Prince of Orange, as well as by that "of the Synod itself."—This assertion is not correct, as it regards even *the States General and the Prince of Orange*, in the sense in which Mr. Scott composed it. Every one conversant with that vast collection of Predestinarian documents, knows the mystery involved in the signatures of their High Mightinesses, and the reasons why they were appended to *the Canons of the Synod*, while they were purposely with-held from other equally-important portions: The verbiage of *the Historical Preface* itself, on this point, betrays the wariness of the Dutch rulers, who never gave it

the sanction of their names, and did not intend to render it such *an authentic exposition of their domestic occurrences* as its translator has been willing to suppose.—But the assertion is still more incorrect as it regards "*the Synod itself*," if this term include the *foreign* divines as well as the *provincial*. For it was the subsequent work of a very small portion of the hot-headed Dutchmen, who could not obtain leave, from the States General, for its being printed till it had been wonderfully softened down, and had undergone numerous emendations.—All these three parties, however, gave their sanction to another Preface, that prefixed to the Canons in the same work, which, it is scarcely possible, for a particular reason which will be afterwards mentioned, that Mr. Scott can have mistaken for their approbation of *the Historical Preface*. — The latter stands, therefore, as a violent political manifesto, drawn up at first by a few pragmatical divines, and abridged and polished in its style by Heinsius, to answer party-purposes among foreigners. Indeed, a gleam of Mr. Scott's native good sense, in the very next page, has given him a correct view of the nature of this Preface. Forgetting what he had previously said, about its being "A HISTORY" which could not be "attested *as authentic* in a more satisfactory and unexceptionable manner," he subsequently tenders us the following information: "It is drawn up with a degree of calmness and "moderation, far different from that fierce and fiery zeal which "is generally supposed to belong to all who profess, or are sus-"pected of, what many, in a very vague and inappropriate sense, "call CALVINISM. And though, according to the *fashion* of those "times, epithets are, in some instances, applied, both to men "and opinions, which modern courtesy, nay, perhaps, Christian "meekness would have suppressed; yet, if I mistake not, they "are more sparingly employed in this than in any contemporary "*controversial publication*."

This is a dreadful falling off indeed: Our AUTHENTIC HISTORY, "attested by collective bodies, and individuals filling up such conspicuous and exalted stations," dwindles all at once into a paltry "CONTROVERSIAL PUBLICATION!" But had Mr. Scott known the character of these "individuals in exalted stations," he would not have prided himself on "the authority and sanction of the States General and the Prince of Orange," if they had been really obtained in the sense in which he intended his assertion to be understood. By a perusal of the note in page 586, it will be seen, that Prince Maurice, and his newly-elected States General, then stood exactly in the same circumstances in Holland, as Cromwell and his mongrel Parliament afterwards did in England, with this single extenuating fact in the Dutchman's favour—that he had not murdered the *sovereign* as well as *the constitution* of his country.

II.—Like many other of his eccentric *illustrations*, Mr. Scott has inadvertently furnished his readers in the next page of the translation, with a proof of the increasing *ambition* of Prince Maurice, and of the *political subserviency* of his re-formed States General. It is in the shape of one of Maclaine's attempted corrections of Mosheim, in these words: "It was not by the au-"thority of Prince Maurice, but by that of the States General, "that the National Synod was assembled at Dordrecht." It is not improbable, that Mosheim derived his information from the Preface to the Canons; the first edition of which, under the title *Judicium Synodi Nationalis, habitæ Dordrechti, de Quinque Doctrinæ Capitibus in Ecclesiis Belgicis Controversis*, was printed separately, twelve months prior to the appearance of the bulky "Acts" of that Synod, though it also forms a part of their multiform contents, and was very ably translated into English, and published by King James's learned printer JOHN BILL in various sizes, exactly *one hundred and ninety-nine years* before Mr. Scott subjected himself to the thankless work of supererogation, which he has most unskilfully executed. In that Preface, the old English translator has well conveyed the sense of the original, thus: "When, in man's understanding, scarce any hope of "remedy appeared, God did put it into the minds of the most "Illustrious and Mighty Lords, the States General of the United "Provinces, by the *counsel* and *direction* of the most renowned and "valiant Prince of Orange, to determine to meet with these out-"rageous mischiefs by such lawful means as have been long time "approved by the example of the Apostles themselves, and of "the Christian Church following them," &c. The States General of that period could be *counselled* and *directed* by Prince Maurice to any enterprize whatever; and these expressions sufficiently justify the assertion of Mosheim. Subsequently, however, they shewed themselves less tractable, and the ambitious design of the Prince of Orange miscarried. See page 594.

As a sequel to this exposition of Mr. Scott's "Public Records" and "Registers," which dwindle into *the Journal of the Synod's proceedings composed by the two Calvinistic secretaries*, it may be proper to add "the cautelous words" of the five British Deputies, which they published in their "Joint Attestation" against Bishop Mountagu six years after their return from Dort. "It may be said, "(and so we ourselves say,) that the disposers and publishers of "these Synodical Acts had done more right to the Britain Divines, if "special mention had been made of that other matter not approved "by them, and of their particular exceptions against the Articles "which concerned church-government. But, it seemeth, (as in "most other vocal passages in this Synod,) the Actuary here "intended abridgment in what he set down, and meant not to "express in particular what was said by any concerning points "not propounded to Synodical deliberation, especially touching

"upon so tender a string as the open impeachment of their own "established discipline."—Such an excuse as this for "the Actuary's [the notorious Festus Hommius'] intended abridgments," from *friends*, is far worse than the open criminations of *enemies*.—Mr. Scott also asserts in his Introduction, that the measures of the Remonstrants "evidently tended to subvert the whole system" of the Presbyterian mode of church-government. On the contrary, the British Divines tell us, in their famous *Joint Attestation*, "In "the Netherlands, the party opposite unto that Synod, and most "aggrieved with the conclusions thereof concerning *the points* "*controverted*, are, notwithstanding, as vehement and resolute "maintainers of the *ministerial parity*, as any that concluded or "accepted the judgment of that Synod." In a subsequent part of this volume, it will be found that Grotius complains of the Dutch Arminians, that they had evinced no disposition to adopt the Episcopal regimen.

III.—Omitting many scores of Mr. Scott's intermediate mistranslations and errors, we find, in page 73, the following passage: "But that they [the Remonstrants] might the more easily obtain that Toleration by public authority which they always pressed, by the benefit of which they indeed hoped to be able, by little and little, to introduce their own doctrine in the churches, they employed this artifice: They sent over into England, by Hugo Grotius, a certain writing, in which the true state of the controversy was dissembled, a copy of a letter being also annexed; and they requested that he would petition from the most serene James, King of Great Britain, seeing this cause could not be settled by any other method than by a Toleration, that his most serene royal Majesty would deign to give letters, according to the form of the annexed copy, to the illustrious the High Mightinesses the States General; which he (Grotius,) having seized on an opportunity, surreptitiously obtained, and transmitted them to the illustrious the States General."

I do not stop to animadvert upon *literas* here translated "Letters," since it was but "one," as indeed the Latin word signifies; but I proceed to the affair itself, which will receive further elucidation in the second volume, Appendix H, when I display some traits of Archbishop ABBOT's character, who, on that occasion, wrote an infamous letter to his creature, Sir Ralph WINWOOD, the King's ambassador at the Hague, in which he calumniated Grotius as "some pedant, a smatterer, a simple fellow, tedious, full of "tittle-tattle, full of words, and of no great judgment!" But Grotius, by the powerful aid of his friends Bishop ANDREWS and OVERAL, succeeded most satisfactorily with King James, who gloried in the office of *peace-maker*, which he officiously and without invitation assumed in regulating the domestic affairs of different States and Kingdoms in Europe. There can be little doubt, that the very wise letter which his Majesty addressed in

French to the States General, (dated, exactly as it stands in the margin of "the Historical Preface," *March 6th*, 1613,) was composed at the dictation of ANDREWS and OVERAL, both of whom have always been regarded, by all parties, as two of the most able and judicious Prelates that the Church of England ever enjoyed. Knowing the intentions of the States of Holland to issue the famous decree concerning *a mutual Toleration*, which Grotius had composed, and which I have cursorily described in page 432, the two Bishops, and probably others of their friends, might consider it to be their duty to point out to his Majesty the glorious opportunity which then presented itself of *the King of England being the first man to propose such a godlike expedient*, for composing the religious differences in the Low Countries. The King wrote the letter; and the States of Holland, as if touched with a magic wand, immediately passed their decree, a draught of which was transmitted to England for his Majesty's revision and emendation. The celebrated Isaac Casaubon, who was at that time the king's literary favourite, officially communicated to Grotius the high approval and encomiums of "his most Serene Majesty, of his Grace the Archbishop [Abbot,] and of other prelates of consummate erudition!" Extracts from the king's letter and from that of Casaubon, are inserted in *the Works of* ARMINIUS, vol. 1, pp. 411, 412.

The reader has now materials, from which he may form a tolerably accurate judgment of the alleged "surreptitious manner" in which Grotius, like a great Statesman, contrived through his friends to obtain the King's approbation, which was deemed of great importance in Holland, on account of the distant ties of affinity, which had just then linked together his Majesty and Prince Maurice, in the persons of the youthful Elector Palatine and his blooming and accomplished consort the Princess Elizabeth. The disappointed Abbot and his high Predestinarian friends would undoubtedly say, that his Majesty's approval was "*surreptitiously* obtained," because it was not procured through their influence, and was contrary to their wishes: But they found the King so pleased with the success of his pacific advice, that, after a little impertinent carping, Archbishop Abbot, who possessed more Calvinistic shrewdness than his admirers are in the habit of awarding to him, concurred in the united admiration of the Dutch Edict to which the other Court-divines had given utterance.

What is Mr. Scott's sage comment on this morsel of *ecclesiastical* or, rather, of *political* history? He employs it, as he has done more trifling incidents, to enhance the value of his reputed "authentic records."—"It should be noted," he says, "that this "narrative was published several years before the death of "James; who therefore, it must be presumed, was willing to "have it thought, that these letters were surreptitiously obtained

"by Grotius." Before Mr. Scott wrote this sentence, he ought to have studied the following definition, by Sir Henry Wotton, and the occasion upon which it was written:* *Legatus est vir bonus peregrè missus ad mentiendum Reipublicæ causâ,* "An ambassador is a good man, sent abroad to lie for the sake of his country." Many ambassadors employed by King James, beside Sir Henry Wotton, might have used the double meaning which the English

* The occasion is thus related by Isaac Walton:

"For eight years after Sir Henry Wotton's going into Italy, he stood fair and highly valued in the King's opinion, but at last became much clouded by an accident, which I shall proceed to relate.

"At his first going ambassador into Italy, as he passed through Germany, he stayed some days at Augusta; where having been in his former travels well known by many of the best note for learning and ingeniousness, (those that are esteemed the virtuosi of that nation,) with whom he passing an evening in merriment, was requested by Christopher Flecamore to write some sentence in his albo, (a book of white paper, which for that purpose many of the German gentry usually carry about them;) and Sir Henry Wotton consenting to the motion, took an occasion from some accidental discourse of the present company, to write a pleasant definition of an ambassador, in these very words:

"*Legatus est vir bonus peregrè missus ad mentiendum Reipublicæ causâ.*

"Which Sir Henry Wotton could have been content should have been thus Englished:

"*An Ambassador is an honest man, sent to* LIE ABROAD *for the good of his country.*

"But the word for LIE (being the hinge upon which the conceit was to turn), was not so exprest in Latin, as would admit (in the hands of an enemy especially), so fair a construction as Sir Henry thought in English. Yet as it was, it slept quietly among other sentences in this albo, almost eight years, till by accident it fell into the hands of Jasper Scioppius, a Romanist, a man of a restless spirit, and a malicious pen; who, with books against King James, prints this as a principle of that religion professed by the King, and his ambassador Sir Henry Wotton, then at Venice: and in Venice it was presently after written in several glass-windows, and spitefully declared to be Sir Henry Wotton's.

"This coming to the knowledge of King James, he apprehended it to be such an oversight, such a weakness, or worse, in Sir Henry Wotton, as caused the King to express much wrath against him: And this caused Sir Henry Wotton to write two apologies, one to Velserus (one of the chiefs of Augusta) in the universal language, which he caused to be printed, and given, and scattered in the most remarkable places both of Germany and Italy, as an antidote against the venomous books of Scioppius; and another apology to King James; which were both so ingenious, so clear, and so choicely eloquent, that his Majesty (who was a pure judge of it), could not forbear, at the receipt thereof, to declare publicly, 'that Sir Henry Wotton had commuted sufficiently for a greater offence.'

"And now, as broken bones well set become stronger, so Sir Henry Wotton did not only recover, but was much more confirmed in his Majesty's estimation and favour than formerly he had been.

"And as that man of great wit and useful fancy, (his friend Dr. Donne,) gave in a will of his, (a will of conceits,) his reputation to his friends, and his industry to his foes, because from thence he received both: So those friends, that in this time of trial laboured to excuse this facetious freedom of Sir Henry Wotton's, were to him more dear, and by him more highly valued; and those acquaintance that urged this as an advantage against him, caused him by this error to grow both more wise, and (which is the best fruit error can bring forth) for the future to become more industriously watchful over his tongue and pen."

phrase "LIES abroad" implies, had they attempted to describe the nature of some of the services in which they were engaged.* But the nice distinction of the politicians of those days, "that an ambassador acts not in a *personal* but in a *ministerial* capacity," generally settled all qualms of conscience; and, in reference to this observation, every man acquainted with the private history of Sir Ralph Winwood and Sir Dudley Carleton, consecutively ambassadors at the Hague during the religious dissensions in Holland, will lament that two men, so generally estimable and judicious, should have been placed, by their Sovereign or his confidential advisers, in circumstances, in which, on account of the part that they were expected to act, they could not possibly gain any accession to their characters or reputation.

Mr. Scott, however, has mistaken the cause of King James's *silence:* It was not a token of his *consent* to the imputation against Grotius, conveyed in "the Historical Preface;" but it was a token of greater prudence than his Majesty usually displayed. For Grotius and his friends were in possession of other letters from King James, which would have put the sincerity of the monarch in a shape somewhat too questionable, had they been contrasted with his subsequent cruel and despicable conduct towards the Dutch Arminians. But Grotius was too noble an adversary, and entertained too high a reverence for the *office*, if not for the *person* of his Majesty, to implicate him needlessly in matters in which he had granted his meddling humour an unbounded indulgence: In the "Apology" therefore, which, Dr. Bates tells us, (p. 589,) "was the first work published by Grotius after he had regained his liberty" in 1621, King James saw additional reasons for silence on this topic.

This circumstance will likewise serve to explain the cause of the silence about Mr. Scott's renowned "Historical Preface," which was maintained by Grotius's cotemporaries, the English Calvinists. On the publication of the APOLOGY, those eminent men who had been the British Deputies at the Synod of Dort, perceived that all the "authentic" and all "the public records," with which, in this late age of the world, Mr. Scott has been wishful of bedeck-

* In the letter which Archbishop Abbot sent to Sir Ralph Winwood, his Grace seems to have been aware of the existence of this qualification in the representative of Royalty. But King James did not bestow upon it so gross an epithet as Isaac Walton has done, in his translation of Sir Henry Wotton's Latin line: His Majesty called it "King-craft." After relating the private interview which Grotius and Caron had with King James prior to the departure of the former, Abbot says, "I doubt not but Grotius had his part in this information, "*whereout, I conceive, you will make some use*, keeping these things privately "to yourself, as becometh *a man of your employment*. When his Majesty told "me this, I gave such an answer as was fit; and now, upon the receipt of your "letters, shall upon the first occasion give further satisfaction."—In what an artful manner did this Calvinian Archbishop hasten the crisis of the religious differences in Holland! He was also the principal cause of this country being involved in bloodshed.

ing his beloved Synod's "Historical Preface," belonged exclusively to the elegant and unanswerable production of Grotius. I feel a satisfaction in bearing record to the real love of learning which then prevailed, and to the native force of truth, which prevented every man, whether Calvinist or Augustinian, that made any pretensions to literary eminence or even to common equity, from quoting the narrative of Dutch affairs out of "the Historical Preface," that was then in the hands of every one, in preference to the impartial account which Grotius had given. I never met with a quotation from "the Preface" in the authors of that period, except in one or two of no reputation. The most unexceptionable man, in whose works I have found a morsel of it, is that voluminous writer, Dr. Thomas Manton. I have also found it quoted in the margin of one or two of the intolerant sermons of the Presbyterian preachers before the Long Parliament, in which short extracts are introduced, as authorities for persecuting the English Arminians. If any men had felt the least inclination to produce the *overwhelming evidence* of Mr. Scott's "public records," they would have been the five British divines, who had been deputed by King James to the Synod of Dort, of which they formed no inconsiderable portion; they were, indeed, with all their failings, the brightest ornaments of that assembly. But they knew, better than Mr. Scott, the apocryphal origin and the prejudiced composition of that politic exposure, and were extremely shy about any allusion to it in their long controversy with Mountagu and his defenders. Some writers have been pleased to say, about other authorities, "that these good men *durst not* adduce them, lest they should give offence to the Court." But they who write in this strain, know little about the matter: For, in that controversy, the authors in the Calvinistic interest, though professing due loyalty to his Majesty, treated King Charles himself, on account of his supposed predilection for Arminianism, in a manner which modern courtesy would consider to be exceedingly indecorous.

IV.—My next quotation from Mr. Scott's astonishing production, is one of the most amusing attempts that can possibly be imagined, to enhance the reputed validity of "the Historical Preface:"—"Neither Mosheim, nor his translator Maclaine, men-
"tion this history, while they refer to a variety of authorities on
"both sides of the question, in their narrative of these transac-
"tions: So that, it is even probable, that they had never seen
"it. Whether the severe measures by which the decisions of this
"Synod were followed up; and especially the strict prohibition
"of printing or vending any other account in Latin, Dutch, or
"French, in the Federated Provinces, during seven years, with-
"out a special licence for that purpose; did not eventually con-
"duce to this, may be a question. The measure, however, was
"impolitic, if not unjustifiable."

1.—Mr. Scott thinks it "probable," that "neither Mosheim, nor his translator Maclaine, had ever seen this History." The truth is, both of them had seen it; and the silence about *its momentous contents*, which is observed by Maclaine, who was as determined a Calvinist as Mr. Scott himself, must have seemed very surprising to one who placed upon it such a high value, while, to every man besides, this fact will be an additional evidence of the low estimation in which all well-informed Calvinists hold that paltry production. The Ecclesiastical Historian and his excellent Translator "refer to a variety of AUTHORITIES, on both sides of the question, in their narrative of these transactions," but (sad oversight!) they never once formally "mention this History" as an AUTHORITY, because they knew they would in that case have exposed themselves to the derision of all the learned in Europe. Many are the palliations for the intolerance of the Synod, which Dr. Maclaine introduces; but not a single expression does he quote from what Mr. Scott calls "the public records," because such quotation would have destroyed the semblance of *impartiality*, which both he and Mosheim wished to preserve.

But Mosheim does mention it, with several other as important documents as those which he has quoted. It was Mosheim's manner, when he commenced the history of any large denomination of Christians, to refer his readers, (generally in the first note,) to some well-authenticated and common publication, in which a complete list would be found of the works relating particularly to that denomination. In the fifth volume of his History, from which Mr. Scott's information about the Arminians is derived, Mosheim has made such a copious reference respecting three or four other Churches. Had he not adopted this method, in some instances the mere enumeration of the title-pages of the several works written on that subject, would have occupied almost as much space as he has been able to devote to the history itself. According to his usual method, therefore, Mosheim, at the commencement of that part of the article on the ARMINIANS which relates to the Synod of Dort, refers his readers at once to an ample collection of documents in FABRICII *Bibliotheca Græca*,*

* Mosheim's note reads thus:—"The writers who have given accounts of the Synod of Dort, are mentioned by Jo. Albert. Fabricius, in his *Biblioth. Græc.* vol. xi. p. 723. The most ample account of this famous assembly has been given by Brandt, in the second and third volumes of his *History of the Reformation in the United Provinces*; but, as this author is an Arminian, it will not be improper to compare his relation with a work of the learned Leydekker, in which the piety and justice of the proceedings of this Synod are vindicated against the censures of Brandt. This work, which is composed in Dutch, was published in two volumes in 4to, at Amsterdam, in the year 1705 and 1707, under the following title: *Eere van de Nationale Synode, van Dordrecht voorgestaan en bevestigd tegen de beschuldingen van* G. Brandt. After comparing diligently these two productions, I could see no enormous error in Brandt; for, in truth, these two writers do not so much differ about facts, as they do in the reasoning they deduce from them, and in their accounts of the causes from whence they proceeded. The reader will

Vol. xi, p. 723. Now, I should consider it a dreadful imputation on a learned man's character, were it even insinuated that this work by Fabricius was not in the possession of such a diffuse commentator on the Holy Scriptures, as Mr. Scott has been, though his notes are said (by his admirers themselves) to be more remarkable for strong sense and fertile imagination, than for the sound learning which they display. In the exact page and volume of the work to which Mosheim despatches all his readers for information about the Dutch Synod, the first article that presents itself is, "DORDRACENÆ SYNODI ACTA," of which an able literary notice is there given.* Mr. Scott's famous "History" is the

do well to consult the Letters of the learned and worthy Mr. John Hales, of Eaton, who was an impartial spectator of the proceedings of this famous Synod, and who relates, with candour and simplicity, what he saw and heard."

* Having given a critical description of the various Councils which the Roman Catholic authors had collected, Fabricius presents the following account of the Synod of Dort:

"It commenced on the 13th of Nov. 1618, and continued to the 9th of May, 1619. Let no one look for *the Acts* or *Decrees* of the Synod of Dort among the collectors of Councils, although they have not hesitated to insert in their volumes also many small Councils of those whom they denominate *Heretics*. Yet,—since, from the dignity of the subject, and from the number and authority of those by whom the business was transacted, this may possibly seem equal or superior to many Synods,—and since it is even now confirmed by most of the Reformed Churches,—I was unwilling to omit the mention of it. It was held, in the ninth year after *the Conference at the Hague*, by the Reformed Calvinians against the Arminian Remonstrants, the latter of whom complain, *that it condemned them without a hearing.*

"For the publication of the ACTS, the Divines chosen out of various districts of the United Provinces were, John Polyander, Anthony Walæus, Anthony Thysius, Daniel Heinsius, Festus Hommius, Daniel Colonius, and John Laets: But Dr. Wm. Bates informs us in his *Life of A. Walæus*, 'that the chief merit 'of the publication is due to Festus Hommius, who was a ready and elegant 'writer, and, as secretary to the Synod, had noted with greater diligence than 'the others, the matters that had been transacted.'—These ACTS were published at Dort in the year 1620, in folio, in the neat types of the Elzevirs at Leyden; and were soon afterwards executed with greater correctness, in the same year, at Hanover, in quarto, with the addition of a copious index.

"Prefixed to the ACTS stand,—the EPISTLE of their High Mightinesses the States General, addressed to the Monarchs and Kings, to the Princes, Counts, Cities, and Magistrates, [of the Christian world], and vouching for the fidelity and authority of these ACTS,—and likewise the ample PREFACE of Daniel Heinsius, addressed to the Reformed Churches of Christ, concerning the origin and increase of the Dutch controversies, for the purpose of appeasing which, the Synod had been convened.

"The ACTS themselves consist of three parts: (1.) The rules for holding the Synod; the form of the Synodical oath; decrees and judgments concerning the translation of the Bible, catechizing, candidates for the sacred ministry, and concerning the removal of the abuses of printing; the Canons against the Five Points of the Remonstrants; the Confession of the Dutch Churches; the approbation of the Palatine Catechism; the judgment passed on the doctrine of Conrad Vorstius; a writing of the Remonstrants respecting the conditions on which the Synod ought to be held; the Theses of the Remonstrants on the Five Points,

Preface described by Fabricius, as the production of Daniel Heinsius, who had been lay-secretary to the Commissioners, chosen out of the States General to preside over the deliberations of the Synod. Not a word occurs in Fabricius concerning the *avouched* "fidelity and authority" of this *Historical Preface:* Those government-attributes are properly ascribed to the *Acts* alone, while "the ample Preface," lately extolled as such a precious morsel of *authentic* church-history, is awarded to its final reviser and polisher, Daniel Heinsius. Had Mr. Scott consulted the article in Fabricius to which Mosheim referred him, he would have found a list of ten Calvinistic publications in support of the Synod, and fifteen against it; some of the former of which were more worthy of being translated, than the universally-neglected document which Mr. Scott has, unfortunately for himself, chosen for the exercise of his powers.

2.—Had he consulted that article, he would not have committed the strange mistake into which he has fallen in the 112th page of his performance. He has there informed his readers of his former state of ignorance concerning "the real Articles of the Synod," and that his "literal translation of them" was made from a copy "contained in the *Sylloge Confessionum*, Oxford, 1804."—He has afforded many proofs, beside this, of his knowing very little about the contents of the bulky volume, "the Historical Preface" to which he has so *painfully* tried to explain. In the Account of his Life, which has been lately presented to the world by his son John, and which is highly creditable to his talents and filial affection, it is said, "The translation [of *the Historical Preface*] is made from "*the Acts* of the Synod, published by authority, in a Latin *quarto* "volume." That is the edition which, according to Fabricius, and as every learned man knows, contains an index, accurately denoting the very page in which those *Articles* might be found. Unfortunately, however, they are there denominated "The Canons of the Synod concerning the Five Points of the Remonstrants;" and as Mr. Scott does not seem to have been aware, that they are indiscriminately (and in some respects *improperly*) designated by even good writers *Canons, Decrees, Articles,* [*Sententia,*] *Sentiments,* and *Judgment,* he could find no mention of Articles in the original work, but was compelled to look for them in the *Sylloge Confessionum,* in which they offered themselves to his perusal under the more intelligible and familiar title of *Sententia.*

and the various exceptions and protestations against the Synod; a writing by Simon Episcopius, in which he defends himself; the confession of the two brothers Geisteeren; and, lastly, the orations of those very celebrated men, Balthasar Lydius, Martin Gregory, Joseph Hall, John Polyander, John Acronius, and of the memorable Episcopius.—(2.) The Judgments of the Foreign Divines on the Five Points of the Remonstrants.—(3.) The Judgments of the Dutch Divines on the same Points."

A similar instance of his "woeful lack of information" respecting the volume in his possession, a part of which he too hastily undertook to elucidate, may be seen in one of his notes, in which he says: "The Five Articles of the Remonstrants, so often mentioned in this History, do not occur separately and all together in the authenticated documents of which I make use; but, comparing the detached accounts of them and the arguments used in the Synod of Dort concerning them, with the following statement from Mosheim, (Vol. v, pp. 444—5,) the latter appears sufficiently accurate for our present purpose:" He then quotes the abridgment from Mosheim. On the interpretation which the reader will give to Mr. Scott's two opposite terms "*separately* and *all together*," I do not pretend to offer even a conjecture; but *the Tenets of the Remonstrants* occur in the copy of the ACTS "of which Mr. Scott made use," *separately*, under each of the days in which they were presented, and in substance the same as those which Bishop Womack has translated and ably corroborated in the subsequent pages of this volume (93—150). Were modern Arminians as testy and querulous as Mr. Scott and Mr. Baxter have been, on reading this abridgment they might retort some of the *elegant* phraseology of these two good yet irritable and prejudiced men, about "bearing false witness against their neighbours,"&c. But Christian courtesy forbids such a course; and though the materials for a better account of the sentiments of the Arminians were actually in Mr. Scott's possession, at the time when he published this *scanty exposition of Arminianism*, they would not adopt the language which he employs, in page 121, "I own, I never before met with so gross, so barefaced, and *inexcusable* a misrepresentation as this, in all my studies of modern controversy. It can only be equalled by the *false testimony* borne against Jesus and his Apostles, as recorded in Holy Writ. But is that cause likely to be in itself *good*, which needs to be supported by so unhallowed weapons?" — I refer the reader, for further information on this subject, to *the Works of Arminius*, vol. i, p. 510. Bishop Womack's celebrated book, "THE CALVINISTS' CABINET UNLOCKED," was written for the purpose of shewing Richard Baxter, that the Abridgment of the Calvinistic Articles of the Synod of Dort, which the Bishop has inserted in the 39th page of *the Examination of Tilenus*, was virtually correct; and all impartial men, who examine the Bishop's authorities, will not charge him with want of success in that enterprize.

3.—But the most wonderful part of Mr. Scott's argumentation remains yet to be examined. In proof of "the probability that neither Mosheim, nor his translator Maclaine had seen this History," Mr. Scott adduces this singular reason: "Whether the severe measures, by which the decisions of this Synod were followed up,—and especially the strict prohibition of printing

" or vending any other account in Latin, Dutch, or French, in " the Federated Provinces, during seven years, without a special " licence for that purpose,—did not eventually conduce to this, " may be a question."—I will not now allude to " the severe measures, by which the decisions" of the Synod of Dort were enforced. The nature of the prohibition is here not correctly expressed; but, receiving it according to Mr. Scott's confused statement, was it ever before known, in the history of mankind, that an exclusive privilege, granted under the strongest penalties, *in favour* of a particular work, hindered its sale and circulation? The effect must, in the nature of things, be *exactly the contrary;* and it was so in this instance. As many copies of the Acts were transmitted, in the form of presents, to the different learned men of Europe, as would have amounted to a good edition by themselves. They had a free circulation, and were extensively pushed among *the trade,* by the company of industrious Dutch Booksellers to whom, under curious restrictions, the privilege was granted. Not merely in the Latin language were they sold; but, being translated into Dutch and French they were accommodated to the capacities of common readers, who, whether friends or foes, desired to obtain some account of the Synod's proceedings from the only documents which they could *lawfully* peruse. The most interesting portions of the Acts were also translated into English and German. The several editions of the original, and of these translations, gave a still greater extension to the Acts, the result of which is to this day perceptible in our own country, and in some other States of Europe. For, the ACTS *of the Remonstrants,* which were published nearly at the same time, " are exceedingly rare, and very little known in England. Fifty copies at least of the Calvinistic Acts may be met with in the catalogues of the English booksellers, before one of the Acts of the Remonstrants can be found." I never inspected a respectable Dissenting Minister's library, in which the Dort Acts had not obtained a place: And that Mr. Scott, the grand expounder, to the Evangelical Clergy, of *what is* and *what is not* CALVINISM, should have known nothing till the very close of life about *the doctrinal Articles* determined in that Synod, — is only another lamentable proof how boldly and ignorantly some (otherwise) good men can " *talk* WITHOUT BOOK!"

I have mentioned the adoption of the Decrees of the Synod of Dort, by the French Calvinists; (pp. 255, 290;) and " the Arminian Acts" with the other works of the Remonstrants, could not have been more effectually excluded from the members of their Churches, had their suppression been enforced by the Popish Inquisition. In England they did not meet with a better fate, according to the narrative of the old historian:

" But the Remonstrants had likewise some great enemies among the Bishops of that Kingdom, particularly Doctor ABBOT, the

Archbishop of Canterbury, who not long before shewed his dislike of their opinions. For, when John Narsius, minister of Bommel and of the Remonstrant party, brought into England *the Synodical Acts of the Remonstrants*, some of the copies were stopped and taken from him, the Archbishop threatening *to burn them, and to cause the owner to be thrown into prison, for bringing into the nation and dispersing books written in defence of those errors which the Synod of Dort had condemned!* Those divines in England who adhered to the Doctrine of Calvin, being elevated at the ill fortune of the Remonstrants in Holland, stuffed their sermons continually with disputes about Predestination: But, the more furious they were, the more did the King's [James's] zeal, which had exerted and still did exert itself against the Remonstrants, begin to cool. He looked back upon what was passed, and by that means grew more and more sensible of the present danger from the other party."—Brandt's *History of the Reformation.*

4.—Perhaps this is the proper place to correct another of Mr. Scott's egregious mis-statements:—"The authenticated histories "of the Remonstrants concerning the Synod of Dort have, almost "exclusively, been noticed and credited by posterity, especially "in this country, to the neglect of the authentic records."—This assertion is repeated in different forms, throughout the pamphlet, also by his son, and by other writers who follow him as an oracle. What, then, are the facts of the case? Mosheim has said in a preceding page, (clii,) that "*the most ample account* of this famous Assembly has been given by Brandt." Three-fourths of that large narrative which, soon after its publication, was translated into English, were compiled from the Calvinistic Acts themselves, and from the letters and despatches of two unexceptionable witnesses, both of whom at that time were zealous Calvinists,—"the ever-memorable Hales of Eton," and Dr. Walter Balcanqual. Indeed, the Latin journal of the latter divine, after Hales's departure, was the chief document on which Brandt had to rely for information, respecting those topics of discussion about which the members quarrelled, and on which the Synodical Report observes a prudent silence or a studied brevity. That part of Dr. Heylin's History likewise which relates to the Synod, is compiled principally from Hales and Balcanqual, as well as from Bishop Womack's *Arcana Dogmatum Anti-Remonstrantium.* Thus, the chief English narratives of the Synodical proceedings are almost entirely copied from Calvinistic authors.—On the Continent, the Predestinarian information which Hales and Balcanqual transmitted at least twice a week to the English Ambassador at the Hague, was so highly appreciated, that two separate translations of the English letters were published, by Limborch at Amsterdam, and by Mosheim at Hanover. The latter of these editions is elucidated by ample notes and "various observations," an excellent "Life of Hales," and interesting "Considerations on the Authority of the Synod of

DORT—*an Assembly destructive of Sacred Peace.*" If favoured with health and opportunity, I intend to give a translation of Mosheim's volume, as well as of Balcanqual's Latin Journal, neither of which has ever yet been published in English. So much for Mr. Scott's accuracy about "the neglect of *the authentic records,*"—a high-sounding phrase which, in the commencement of the same paragraph, he has applied to "the Historical Preface!"

V.—In the conclusion of my remarks on a few of Mr. Scott's radical mistakes and rash assertions, I cannot refrain from the expression of my unfeigned regret at beholding an aged and respectable clergyman spend some of the last days of his mortal pilgrimage, in attempting to communicate to an *intolerant* Dutch Preface an air of validity which it never possessed—except in his own imagination and in that of his admirers. If "the Remonstrants in general," according to Mr. Scott's declaration, (Preface, vii,) "were far more favourable to Pelagians, nay, to Socinians, than "to Calvinists," it was Mr. Scott's duty to have demonstrated the existence of this alleged PELAGIANISM and SOCINIANISM, since he had the full articles of those good men's belief in his possession. The members of the Synod, who assisted in the condemnation of the Remonstrants, formed a judgment of their doctrines—either from the Articles which had been presented by the persons cited, —or, (which was far more agreeable to the Dutch members,) from the *unaccredited* and *private* writings of a few pamphleteers, who had adopted some of the doctrines of General Redemption, but had not been admitted into the communion of the Arminians. Yet even this last class of Calvinistic Divines, highly culpable and disingenuous as was their conduct, never attempted, in that Synod, to fasten upon the Arminians the double charge of Pelagianism and Socinianism, from such a paltry and unauthenticated pamphlet as this "Historical Preface" by Heinsicus. I have already referred my readers to the *Tenets of the Remonstrants,* translated by Bishop Womack into sterling old English, (pp. 90, 150,) and those were the genuine points which should have attracted the theological or metaphysical skill of all the Dort Synodists, and of Mr. Scott their modern defender. But the good Bishop, in the title-page to his *Examination of Tilenus,* has very significantly described the conduct which the Synodists pursued: "The Five Articles were voted, stated and imposed, but *not disputed,* at the Synod of Dort." This was a safe and prudent course; for if those reverend divines had entered into a regular logical dispute on those Theses separately, in the hands of such a man as the youthful Episcopius, whose literary prowess all admired and the greater portion of them dreaded, they would have suffered such a defeat as would have been injurious to Calvinism, and would have paralysed the politic designs of the Dutch members. It was wise therefore in them, to drive the cited persons from the Synod.

The unguarded manner in which some pious yet ill-informed

Arminians praise Mr. Scott's "Christian moderation," has had the tendency to sanctify and perpetuate the gross and unfounded slanders which he has published respecting some of the best men that ever lived. His "Christian moderation" respecting Arminianism, I could never yet discover; on the contrary, I have given one instance, (p. clv,) out of many which might be adduced, of his unwillingness either to instruct himself, or to undeceive others, about the real "tenets of the Remonstrants," in that summary of their scriptural belief which they have always professed. If, in the preceding pages, I have shewn the extreme shallowness of Mr. Scott's acquaintance even with the history of his own favourite opinions, (and I could produce still stronger proofs of his woeful deficiency of knowledge on high Predestinarian matters, on which he has pronounced dogmatically, *quasi ex cathedrâ*,) I would ask, Was such a writer at all qualified to tender *correct information* to the public, respecting the character or conduct of those whom he accounted his *doctrinal adversaries?* His conduct will appear the more reprehensible, when it is considered, that the small work, in which these and many as palpable mistakes occur, boasts of being the result of *deeper research* and *more correct information* than had been displayed in one of his former publications. In the Preface, he says, "The author had erroneously "adopted, and aided in circulating, a gross misrepresentation of "the Synod and its decisions, in his *Remarks on the* REFUTATION "OF CALVINISM; and, having discovered his mistake previously "to the publication of a second edition of that work, he was "induced to do what he could to counteract that misrepresentation, and to vindicate the Synod from the atrocious calumnies "with which it has been wilfully or inadvertently traduced." These traducers are said, in the Life by his son, to have "repeated "statements taken upon trust, in a manner little creditable either "to their DILIGENCE or their CANDOUR!" After a perusal of the preceding pages, I am afraid, all impartial readers will be inclined to award this censure to Mr. Scott and his son. Few of them, I am persuaded, would ever have written, against any of their opponents, such a severe sentence, as the following, which is the conclusion of Mr. Scott's Preface; and though the suggestion, *Palmam qui meruit ferat*, might arise in the minds of some of them, they would not have given it this form of expression: "The groundless charges brought by many against the "whole body, cannot be considered as excusable misapprehension: They must be either *intentional misrepresentation*, or the "INEXCUSABLE PRESUMPTION of writing on subjects *which the "writers have never studied*, and against persons, and descriptions "of persons, of whose tenets, AMIDST MOST ABUNDANT MEANS "OF INFORMATION, they remain *wilfully ignorant*. A fair and "impartial opponent is entitled to respect, but I can only *pity* "such controversialists.—THOMAS SCOTT."

I have called "the Historical Preface" *intolerant*, and the proof is to be had in every section of its multifarious contents.* Both the parties concerned were Presbyterians. The Remonstants were patronized by the chief men in the Republic, even by Prince Maurice himself: But a political difference, respecting a truce with Spain, separated Olden Barneveldt and the Prince, and made the latter their enemy. (Pp. 586, 594.) It should, however, never be forgotten, to the praise of the Arminians, that it was during the many years of their having the political ascendancy in the State, they requested their bigotted opponents to allow them barely a toleration.† This, "the Historial Preface" itself plainly intimates, they could with difficulty obtain while the rulers were in their favour: But as soon as Prince Maurice united himself with the Calvinists, and received promises of succour from our King James, the Remonstrants were no longer permitted to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, but were in every direction persecuted and tormented. An open avowal of the persecuting principle is frequently made in the work which Mr. Scott has translated; and it forms a part of his ingenious occupation in the notes, to shew, as usual, without any authentic *data*, how richly the Arminians deserved such treatment.‡

In a succeeding page (573) I have written a few remarks on one of Mr. Scott's unfounded palliations of Dutch Intolerance.

* Let the reader examine even the partial statements of the Historical Preface itself, in pages 67, 69, 72, 75, &c., and he will soon discover the native intolerance of Calvinism. So far only as any man recedes from the rigidity of that doctrinal system, so far, in general, his principles of Toleration seem to assume a milder and more Christian aspect.

† See, in page 567, the speech delivered by Grotius in the year 1616.

‡ Perhaps a worse instance cannot be adduced than the following, in which, by something beyond a tacit assent, Mr. Scott has identified his opinions on this subject with those of the Bishop of Peterborough, of which, however, all men of moderation grievously complain, whether such "inquisitions" be instituted by Calvinists or reputed Arminians. After relating the audience which the States of Holland granted to Uytenbogart, and in which "he had odiously traduced the "proceedings of the rest of the pastors as *the persons, who, by the demand* "*of a declaration, endeavoured to bring a new inquisition into the Churches, and* "*one by no means to be endured*, he obtained that the same persons should be "forbidden any more to demand this declaration from the Remonstrants," the HISTORICAL PREFACE gives some account of the proceedings of the Calvinists, who "explained in writing *their* counsel on the best way of peace, and concerning "the conditions by which they thought a Toleration should be circumscribed; "and that the proposed *Theses*, concerning which a declaration had been "demanded, were extant, in so many words, in the Confession and Catechism of "the Belgic Churches; and that the *Anti-theses* themselves had been delivered "in public writings, by many persons with whom the Remonstrants had much "communication in these regions."—These Calvinistic excuses are the same as are adopted by the friends of the Bishop of Peterborough. The reader will find a long note on this topic in *the Works of Arminius*, (vol. i, p. 512,) in which, much as I dislike this species of "inquisition," I have demonstrated the superiority of the Bishop's plan to that of the dominant Dutch Presbyterians.

He there says, that the Toleration, for which the Arminians pleaded in Holland when their friends were at the helm of government, "is entirely different from any thing known in Britain." I have briefly proved, that such a Toleration is exactly similar to that which is now allowed in the Episcopal Church of England; and I know it to be a fact, admitting of most abundant confirmation, that, in those days which, since the Reformation from Popery, have generally been depicted as the worst and most tyrannical, an Arminian sermon might frequently be heard, on a Sunday morning, from the vicar of the parish; while, in the afternoon of the same day, a Calvinistic Lecturer, was permitted to deliver to the parishioners a high Predestinarian discourse. The case of Travers and Hooker is one, out of many, to the point, and is thus related by Isaac Walton: "But Mr. Travers had taken orders by the Presbytery in Antwerp, (and, with them, some opinions that could never be eradicated,) and if in any thing he was transported, it was in an extreme desire to set up that government in this nation: For the promoting of which he had a correspondence with Theodore Beza at Geneva, and others in Scotland, and was one of the chiefest assistants to Mr. Cartwright in that design. Mr. Travers had also a particular hope, to set up this government in the Temple; and, to that end, used his most zealous endeavours to be Master of it: And his being disappointed, by Mr. Hooker's admittance, proved the occasion of a public opposition betwixt them, in their sermons. Many of which concerning the DOCTRINES* and CEREMONIES of this Church: Insomuch that,

* I am aware, that Mr. Scott has tried most ingeniously to prove HOOKER a Calvinist: But, by a far less display of ingenuity, one might prove ARMINIUS himself to have been a Calvinist! For every quotation which Mr. Scott has made from that able writer, in his "Force of Truth," I will engage to produce a corresponding one from Arminius, that shall equal it in evangelical purity and doctrinal correctness.

On this subject, Dr. WORDSWORTH'S *Ecclesiastical Biography*, (vol. iv, p. 269,) contains an excellent note, an extract from which I here subjoin:— "At the time when Hooker wrote, Calvinism, *doctrinal* as well as *disciplinarian*, had made considerable progress in England; and Hooker's, unhappily for his own peace of mind, were almost the only works of great extent which were calculated to arrest the progress of the doctrinal Calvinists. In the year 1599, a tract was published in 4to. entitled, *A Christian Letter of certaine English Protestants, unfaigned favourers of the present state of Religion, authorised and professed in England, unto that reverend and learned man, Mr. R. Hooker, requiring resolution in certaine matters of doctrine, (which seeme to overthrow the foundation of Christian Religion, and of the Church among us,) expresslie contained in his five books of Ecclesiasticall Pollicie.* This book is one of the earliest productions of those mal-contents, who were afterwards called *doctrinal Puritans*. It is the *doctrines* of Hooker with which they quarrel; and they profess (in contradistinction to the abettors of the Geneva *Discipline*,) an unfeigned attachment to the external establishments of the Church of England. The work is further deserving of notice, as exhibiting, I believe, the earliest example, both in the matter and manner of the argument, of those numerous publications in which some Calvinistic writers have thoughtlessly and intemperately indulged themselves, from the days of this Christian Letter, and from Prynne and Hickman downwards, to Edwards, and Toplady, and Bowman, and Sir Richard Hill,

as St. Paul 'withstood St. Peter to his face,' so did they withstand each other in their sermons; for, as one hath pleasantly expressed it, 'The forenoon sermon spake CANTERBURY, and the afternoon, GENEVA.' In these sermons, there was little of bitterness; but each brought all the reasons he was able, to prove his adversary's opinion erroneous."—This was not a solitary instance, even in those days when Arminianism was not known by that appellation, though "the matter signified" was actually contained in the formularies of the Church, and preached by eminent divines. When acting in the capacity of a moderator between them, Archbishop Whitgift had a very delicate office to perform,—he had to decide between his love for Calvinism and his love for Episcopacy; but the latter eventually prevailed. Considering the great difference between that period and the reign of Charles the First, his Grace was a much stricter disciplinarian than Archbishop Laud. In the days of the latter, even when he was Bishop of London, Arminian and Calvinian doctrines were delivered, in the same churches, throughout the Metropolis, as frequently as they are at present. The eventful history of that period abounds in proofs of this fact; and we have a remarkable confirmation of it, in a preceding page, (liv,) in which a man well acquainted with city affairs, the Rev. William JENKYN, "Minister of Christ Church, London," communicates the following information to his noble audience, the House of Peers: "Painful zealous ministers, that will tell us of our sins, "are now looked upon as busy men, as those that meddle with the "State: They are bid *to keep to their texts;* as if that preaching "which is a coming close up to your lusts, were a going away "from our texts. In the Bishops' times, *we were suffered to preach* "*any thing so we came not near their sins:* And this Prelacy is still

and Overton.—Can it be believed, the Authors of the Letter in question tax the meek, the wise, the virtuous, the saint-like Richard Hooker, with betraying and renouncing the doctrines to which he had solemnly subscribed? They charge him with designs of bringing back Popery. They accuse him of a wanton attack on the memory of Calvin. They condemn him of unsoundness of doctrine respecting Grace, and Free-will, and Justification, and Predestination, and the *conditions* of the Christian Covenant, and the Sacraments of the Christian Church. It is curious to see the Thirty-nine Articles, the Liturgy, the Homilies, Bishop Jewel's Apology, Dean Nowell's Catechism, and the writings of many others of Hooker's Protestant predecessors, solemnly cited against him, and confronted in due form with extracts from the Ecclesiastical Polity, for the purpose of convicting him of deserting and denying the principles of that Church of which he was a Minister, in whose cause he toiled day and night, and in the defence of which, I believe, it may truly be said, that it was God's good pleasure that he should die."

The dispute between Travers and Hooker is another illustration of the remark in page 686: "With very few exceptions, the most violent Puritans and the greatest sticklers against the prescribed ceremonies, from the dispersion under the persecuting Mary down to the commencement of the reign of King James, were the highest Predestinarians; and their best and most successful opponents were generally learned and pious individuals, who were as conspicuous for their attachment to the doctrines of General Redemption as to the decent rites and observances of the Ancients."

"kept up among us." So much for the rash assertion of Mr. Scott, that such a Toleration was "entirely different from any thing known in Britain!"

This is a lamentable sight, and strongly indicative of the bigotry of which Calvinism, in some of its reputed mildest forms, seems to be the prolific parent. In page cxxv, I have said, concerning the moderate Calvinism of Dr. Gauden, "As the Cameronists were accounted to be a kind of middle-men between Calvinists and Arminians, so may the first sentence in the following paragraph, be recognized as partaking of the kindly nature of the quotation from Cudworth, in page lxiii, while the latter part of it savours a little of the persecuting spirit of the more resolute Calvinists, quoted in pages lxi, lxv." The observation is almost equally applicable to the following sentences, from Mr. Scott's Remarks at the conclusion of his translation: "How far some "kinds of blasphemers should be also exempted [from Tolera-"tion,] may be a question; but every species of profaneness or "impiety, is not direct blasphemy. Yet, if men outrage, or "expose to ridicule or odium, the most sacred services of the reli-"gion of their country, or if public instructors inculcate immoral "principles, they may, as far as I can see, be restrained, so that "that the mischief may be prevented; though perhaps without "further punishment, except for actual violation of the peace." There is not much of the semblance of liberality in these expressions. I should not wish to have my enjoyment of religious Toleration or of civil liberty dependent upon Mr. Scott's interpretation of *blasphemers;* for we have already seen him classing Arminians with Pelagians and Socinians, (p. clviii,) and we know his Calvinian predecessors during the Inter-regnum required no other proof than this of a man's complete disqualification for civil rights and religious privileges. In the subsequent sentence, the sole difference between Mr. Scott, and Archbishop Laud, would be in the meaning which they might severally attach to the phrase "the most sacred *services* of the religion of the country." It was only when "those most sacred services were outraged or exposed to ridicule," that Archbishop Laud considered himself engaged in the performance of his duty, by punishing the offenders, not contrary to the usage of his predecessors, but in exact accordance with established custom. Mr. Scott, indeed, like a man in a lower sphere who has not made an experiment at *enforcing obedience,* meekly says, that such offenders "may, as far as he can see, be restrained;" but respecting the infliction of "further punishment" on them, he adds a "PERHAPS!" This is not that liberal and more extensive doctrine of Toleration, on which our Arminian rulers in Church and State have generally acted during the last fifty years; and it is still more dissimilar to that which they have avowed and practised within the last twelve years.

Several as objectionable passages as the preceding might have been selected, from Mr. Scott's notes to his beloved "Historical

Preface;" but those which I have produced are quite sufficient, to indicate the spirit and character of his performance. It may here be expected of me, that I should make some attempt at apology for the strictures which I have passed on the unsuccessful Calvinian labours of this excellent clergyman, recently deceased. Such an apology, however, I consider to be quite unnecessary in this instance; for it must not be thought, that, in exposing the errors of a dead antagonist, I wish to imitate, even in imagination, the conduct of the Macedonian madman, of whom it is said,

> And thrice he routed all his foes,
> And thrice he slew *the slain!*

I have made no attempts to injure Mr. Scott's moral or religious character: I highly respect his memory for his conscientious attachment to, what he conceived to be, "gospel-truth;" though I think one of the anecdotes which his son has introduced into his LIFE, (p. 233,) will convey, to the minds of some readers, an appearance of *trimming*, or an undue compliance with the Calvinistic prejudices of his hearers.

All my observations relate to the historical errors which Mr. Scott has committed, and not personally to himself. They are mistakes of such a description, as may be exceedingly prejudicial to all youthful inquirers after the truth; and their exposure will serve to shew, that, on all subjects, "a *little* learning is a dangerous thing," and that caution and research are necessary qualifications in every one who pretends to elucidate the most common ecclesiastical occurrences of former ages. But there are men still living, who, by the applause which they have ignorantly bestowed on Mr. Scott's jejune performance, have virtually made his mistakes their own. I do not allude to those petty Calvinistic Reviewers, who are now very plentiful in the book-market, and whose reading, on all ecclesiastical matters brought for adjudication before their Critical Tribunals, seldom extends beyond NEAL'S *History of the Puritans*, BURNET'S *History of his own Times*, or BOGUE *and* BENNETT'S *History of Dissenters*. To attempt to make any salutary impression upon these regular traders in misrepresentation, would be a hopeless effort. The parties to whom I allude, are of a more respectable class; yet they have praised and re-iterated Mr. Scott's misrepresentations, to the injury of their own reputation. That the Rev. JOHN SCOTT, the author's son, should have committed such a venial offence, is not wonderful, when it is considered, that filial veneration for his excellent father's acquirements would naturally prevent him from searching into the accuracy of any of his assertions. Such an excuse, however, is not available for others, whose names might be mentioned, and who, if their words were quoted, would be seen to have identified their own opinions on these subjects with the opinions of their reverend friend and the Patriarch of their body.

VIII.—CONCLUSION.

In the preceding article, I have been the more particular in exposing some of Mr. Scott's mistakes, because,—having been personally a sufferer from the want of accurate and extensive information on the part of some eminent writers, whom I venerated for their piety, and whose plausible assertions on ecclesiastical matters I received (when young) without due caution,—I have learnt to pity and assist those who may suffer from similar causes.

At a future opportunity, it is probable, I shall relate this chapter in my history with more minuteness. For the present, it may suffice to inform the reader, that I received my earliest religious impressions under the ministry of that apostolic man, the Rev. John Crosse, Vicar of Bradford in Yorkshire; who, for many years and with a fondness almost parental, watched over my progress in virtue and learning. When I was in my nineteenth year, and officiating as assistant in the school of the Rev. Thomas Langdon, (a most liberal and pious Baptist minister,) at the earnest request of Mr. Crosse, and by the advice and with the powerful recommendation of the late Rev. Joseph Whiteley, the highly-accomplished and much-lamented Head Master of the Free Grammar School in Leeds, I consented to become a candidate for the Second Mastership in the Free Grammar School of Bradford. This was preparatory to my obtaining a Title from Mr. Crosse, as soon as I should be qualified by age, for entering into Holy Orders. By his influence, with the kind exertions of Mr. John Blackburn, and that very respectable family the Skeltons, much interest was excited in my favour among the Trustees, who, out of above thirty candidates, selected me and another to be the competitors for the situation. My want of success on the day of examination, had the decision of the Trustees been founded on the principle of "*cæteris disparibus*," (which, happily, was not the case,) would not have been disreputable to one so young, since the gentleman, who was very properly preferred, became a teacher at the age of fifteen, and had been in Holy Orders above ten years at the time of his election. This last circumstance, according to the terms of Lady Elizabeth Hastings's endowment, is always decisive in favour of a clerical candidate who possesses the requisite qualifications.

The memory of the Rev. Joseph Whiteley I shall always gratefully cherish: To him I profess myself to have been under the deepest obligations, as my sedulous preceptor, my disinterested friend, adviser and patron. To this excellent clergyman, and to another esteemed friend who has likewise paid the debt of nature, I made a promise, that, if I did not succeed to the vacancy in the Free Grammar School at Bradford, I would accept the situation of private tutor to the four sons of a gentleman near Harewood. How frequently do circumstances, in themselves apparently trivial, seem to determine the future destiny of our lives! During a residence of three years in the respected family

of Richard Leak, Esq., I enjoyed frequent opportunities of visiting my friends in Leeds, and of associating with Christians of different denominations. On one of those excursions, when dining in company with two Dissenting Ministers, I was drawn by the younger of them, a remarkably clever man, into a declaration of my views respecting church-government: It is scarcely necessary to say, that, in the hands of one who had studied the subject, several of my arguments were turned against myself, and my principles shewn to be untenable. When I subsequently reflected upon the topics of our conversation, I at one perceived it to be my duty to have something better than a mere *prepossession* or *inclination* to offer, in behalf of my attachment to Episcopacy. "In evil hour," therefore, I betook myself to this unprofitable course of study, and began to peruse some of the best authors on both sides of the question.

Richard Baxter's incompetency to tender correct information on this subject, which ultimately turns on the practice of Antiquity, I shall prove at some other time: But to his writings against *Episcopacy and Prelacy*, and to Lord Chancellor King's *Enquiry into the Constitution, &c., of the Primitive Church*, I ascribe the bias which I then received in favour of the Presbyterian form of Church-government, and which was strengthened by a perusal of some of the treatises by Episcopal Divines that are mentioned in a preceding note, page cix. I had read several of Baxter's devotional works, with pleasure and edification; but, though in that line he was deservedly one of my favourite authors, I confess, the shock which his pertinacious arguments against Episcopacy gave to my mind, was exceedingly severe. That was the first time in my life, in which the discovery of what I deemed to be Truth was connected with painful sensations; and the remarks which I have made on the conduct of Arminius, (*Works*, vol. i, pp. 63—66,) were dictated by a remembrance of my own tortured feelings, when, from a different cause, I was placed in nearly similar circumstances. My course of reading was, for a considerable time, directed to works written in defence of Presbyterianism and Independency. But though my paramount desire was, to be devoted to the service of God in the Christian ministry among any denomination, my mental scruples would never allow me to become a Dissenter. Several easy methods of embracing that interest presented themselves; one of which was particularly captivating to me—that of Classical Tutor in a celebrated Dissenting Academy: But, "as my thoughts then stood," I could not conscientiously embrace the overture,—though the situation would have been highly gratifying to my wishes and congenial to my previous habits.

I was in this doubtful state of mind respecting the unedifying subject of ecclesiastical regimen, when I joined the society of the Wesleyan Methodists, in which my maternal grandfather had been one of the earliest Itinerant Ministers, and of which my

pious parents had long been members. Soon afterwards, a most liberal offer was made to me of a partnership in the bookselling business, by a person as ignorant of it as myself. But, as business of no kind had ever been in my contemplation, and as my pursuits had lain altogether in a contrary direction, I did not attempt to accept of it till I had consulted those of my friends on whose judgment and concern for my welfare I could safely rely: "Accept of the offer," was the kind but injudicious answer of all, except my prudent father, who, in words that proved ultimately prophetic, foretold the unfortunate issue of such an enterprize as that upon which I was about to enter. In justice, however, to those friends, whose advice I followed with a degree of reluctance and hesitation, I must observe that they were professional men, and almost as little acquainted as myself with those requisites which form a complete tradesman.

When I had contended about five years with the difficulties connected with the occupation of a retail bookseller, and with a large and unwieldy stock, and had, under the influence of a morbid sort of feeling, discarded all thoughts about the contending forms of church-government, my attention was once more unexpectedly attracted to them in the year 1811, by the Rev. Robert Cox, Perpetual Curate of Bridgnorth, at that time Minister of St. James's Church in Leeds. Although my doctrinal views differed from those of this philanthropic clergyman, yet he made me a generous proposal, to clear me entirely of all the incumbrances and engagements in which I was involved by my partnership, provided I would enter into Holy Orders. With an earnest affection, that is quite characteristic of the man of God, he tried to remove the scruples which I had unfortunately imbibed. Not satisfied with his own benevolent endeavours, he engaged his judicious and amiable friend, the Rev. John Merry, then Curate of Rawden in Yorkshire, but now of Chettle, near Salisbury, to argue the case with me. Though at that time my understanding was not convinced by their arguments, yet their endearing behaviour won my affections; and the manner in which these truly Evangelical Clergymen demonstrated to me, from their own experience, the mildness and liberality of the Episcopal Regimen, and the advantages of a national establishment, gave the first clue to my subsequent researches, which I pursued at such intervals as business would permit. It was not, however, till a short time after the unfortunate crisis in my affairs to which I have briefly alluded, that I became fixed and decided in my attachment to Episcopacy.

Having now been settled some years as a printer in London, and entirely unconnected with any other religious denomination than that of the Church of England, I entertain such old-fashioned prejudices as to believe, that the vows of God are still upon me; and that it is my duty, though in an inferior capacity to that of a minister, to do good to all men as often as I have opportunity. These my first-fruits and earliest offerings in behalf

of that Church in which I was first captivated with the loveliness of religion, may seem to be of too polemical a character to be acceptable. But those who are best acquainted with me, know, that controversy is not the element in which I delight. The rise of Arminianism, however, in the Church of England, and its subsequent obligations to that of Holland, could not be elucidated without controverting many of the reproachful and untrue accounts of its most bitter adversaries. Since, therefore, this page of English ecclesiastical History required the aid of one to whom Dutch affairs, and the constitution of the different States which composed that Republic, were familiar,—and my studies, especially in my youthful days, having been turned much in that direction,—I resolved to take this burden upon myself; and, amidst numerous impediments, have been enabled, by the kindness of Heaven, to finish the First Volume of my arduous undertaking. As its multifarious contents will require, from all parties, a long time for digestion; and as the Second Volume will, like this, consist at least of 1,000 closely-printed pages; the latter (also in two parts) must not be expected till I have completed the publication of the *Works of Arminius*.

A few of the reasons for giving this short account of myself, are here subjoined: I wish to shew,—that, though attached from principle to the doctrines and institutions of the Church of England, I am no bigot, but love and reverence good men of every denomination;—that, from my early scruples on ceremonial and minute matters, while I have learnt to respect those of other persons and to treat them with tenderness, I feel desirous to be instrumental in removing them;—that the indulgence and subsequent removal of my own scruples, (which, be it remembered, were never about *doctrinal* matters,) led me into a course of reading, that afforded me many advantages for the execution of the work in which I am now engaged;—that, I have no party or sinister purposes to serve by this publication, having nothing whatever to hope or to fear from men of any religious persuasion;—and that, on several important points, my evidence, corroborated as it generally is by more competent authorities, must be viewed as tolerably impartial and unprejudiced. Indeed, I may venture, with due humility and *in a qualified sense*, to adopt one of "the ever-memorable HALES's" expressions, and say: "The "pursuit of TRUTH hath been my only care, ever since I first "understood the meaning of the word. For this, I have for-"saken all hopes, all friends, all desires, which might bias me "and hinder me from driving right at what I aimed. For this, I "have spent my money, my means, my youth, and all I have, that I "might remove from myself that censure of Tertullian, *suo vitio "quis quid ignorat*. If with all this cost and pains my purchase "is but ERROR, I may say, '*to err* hath cost me more than it hath "many *to find the truth*;' and TRUTH itself shall give me this testi-"mony at last, that if I have missed of her, it is not my *fault*, "but my *misfortune*." J. N.

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